

THE
cienfuegos press

NUM BOOKS

ANARCHIST REVIEW



Volume One No.3 Autumn 1977

ME? A GREAT LEADER?!

"Me, start a vanguard party to lead the working class to revolution? You must be kidding!"

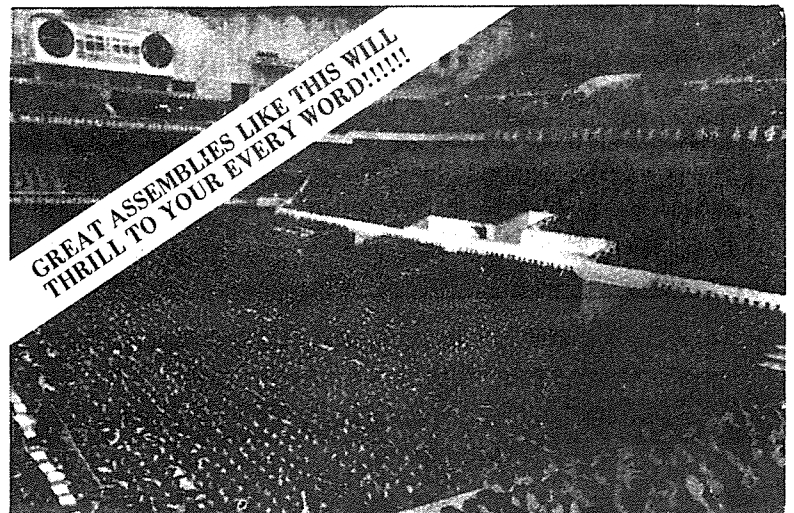


JUST IMAGINE BEING A RESPECTED AND BELOVED FATHERLY LEADER UNDER WHOSE WISE GUIDANCE THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES WILL FORGE AHEAD DAILY WITH THE FIERY ZEAL OF "SPEED UP" CAMPAIGN !!!

Over the past few years, Party Builders Associates has aided countless individuals and groups to form vanguard parties intelligently tailored to their own needs. These people are now leading creative, happy lives fighting one another. What we've done for others, we can do for you.

A few minutes spent in filling out the following questionnaire may be the best investment you will ever make. Your answers will enable Party Builders Associates, preserving strict confidentiality, to work out a party programme that is JUST RIGHT for you and your friends. Our fee for this service is so minimal that you would laugh at us if we printed it in this ad. Just send us the most ridiculously small amount that you can think of, and we'll send your change when we send your new platform.

And now, here's the questionnaire. We advise using a pencil, since these are by no means easy questions, and your party will not be able to alter the positions taken here without seriously damaging your credibility among the workers.



- (1) The Russian Revolution turned away from socialism in:
 - ... (a) 1917
 - ... (b) 1927
 - ... (c) 1953
 - ... (d) 1957
 - ... (e) It hasn't yet, but my group will be the first to denounce it when it does.
 - ... (f) Other (please specify);
- (2) Black people are:
 - ... (a) A nation
 - ... (b) A nation of a new type
 - ... (c) A superexploited sector of the working class
 - ... (d) Petite-bourgeois
 - ... (e) A colony
 - ... (f) Please send me more information about this controversial group.
- (3) The main danger facing the workers' vanguard in the present epoch is:
 - ... (a) Right opportunism
 - ... (b) "Left" sectarianism
 - ... (c) Right opportunism masquerading as "left" sectarianism
 - ... (d) My parents
 - ... (e) Other (please specify):
- (4) Rather than focusing only on narrow economic issues, my party will also offer a cultural critique of life in advanced capitalist civilisation. The following are symptoms of capitalist decadence:
 - ... (a) Homosexuality
 - ... (b) Trotskyism
 - ... (c) Pornographic movies
 - ... (d) Recent price increases in pornographic movies
 - ... (e) Reading *The Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review*
 - ... (f) Other (please give exact details):
- (5) I would like to include the following in the title of my party:
 - ... (a) Labour
 - ... (b) Workers
 - ... (c) Revolutionary
 - ... (d) Socialist
 - ... (e) Communist
 - ... (f) Vanguard
 - ... (g) Progressive
 - ... (h) October (November/July)
 - ... (i) Progressive
 - ... (j) United
 - ... (k) International
 - ... (l) M
 - ... (m) L

The Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review

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"There is one thing more wicked in the world than the desire to command, and that is the will to obey". — William Kingdon Clifford

(Giro a/c no. 178 0050)

(The "Review" is free to all Cienfuegos Press subscribers and all prisoners who request a copy)

(To those who think that £2.00 is a lot to pay for an anarchist journal like this please remember that many anarchists have paid a far higher price for their ideas. We would like to think that this Review is worth more than, say, four fish suppers; three packets of cigarettes; two provincial cinema tickets — or one bottle of cheap wine. Please remember that this issue carries as much — at least — as a 400 page book.)



Editorial / 2

Financial Notes / 3

The Aims and Principles of Anarchism / 4

Objections to Anarchism / 9

Sabotage: Its History, Philosophy and Function / 13

Anarchism in Greek Philosophy / 19

Bowler Hats & Black Bandanas: Anarchism & Freemasonry / 21

A Short History of the Anarchist Movement in

IF you find mistakes in this publication, please consider that they are there for a purpose. We publish something for everyone, and some people are always looking for mistakes!!



Bulgaria / 27

Kaneko Fumiko / 33

Introduction to "Objectivity & Liberal Scholarship" / 37

Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship / 38

Notes to Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship / 53

Francisco Ferrer — An Introduction / 59

The Life and Death of Francisco Ferrer — Ferrer and the Barcelona Riots / 61

The Trial and Death of Ferrer, II / 70

Ferrer's Last Letters / 77

Ricardo Flores Magon and the Mexican Revolution / 80

Erich Muehsam 1878-1934: The Man and His Work / 84

The Miasnikov Memorandum / 87

Stepniak: Portrait of a Nihilist / 88

Arms and the Woman / 90

Anarcho-Feminism: Two Statements / 92

Anarcha - Feminism: One Woman's Response / 93

Marius Jacob's Speech to the Court / 95

The Benefits — Moral & Secular — of Assassination / 96

Berufsverbote / 97

Death of a Salesman / 100

The Organisation of Armed Struggle / 101

Gnosticism: Ancient Heresy or Kick up the Cassock / 101

Science: Image and Reality / 103

Scientists in Collision / 104

Partial Checklist of Anarchist Papers / 105

The Golden Ka of Dennis Wheatley / 106

Poetry / 107

Picture Books for Little Anarchists / 109

Book Reviews / 110: Hitler's Children / The

Technology of Political Control / The Great

Game / Obras de Teatro / Discursos de Ricardo

Flores Magon / Articulos de Combate / Socialism

& the New Life: The Personal and Sexual Politics

of Havelock Ellis & Edward Carpenter / A

New World for Women: Stella Brown — Social-

ist Feminist / Communist Politics in Britain: The

CPGB from its Origins to the Second World

War / Peoples of the Sea / The Cuban Revolution:

A critical Perspective / Persona Non Grata:

An Envoy in Castro's Cuba / Traven's Jungle

Novels / Faraway World: An Orkney Childhood /

The History of the Paris Commune of 1871 /

Jesus — A Myth / The Whores of War / Prisoners

in Revolt / The American Prison Business / Work-

ing in Canada / Down the Road: Unemployment

and the Right to Work / On the 100th Anniversary

of the 1st General Strike in the U.S. /

Guerrillas & Terrorists / Policing a Perplexed

Society / Critique of Syndicalist Methods /

Le Mouvement Anarchiste en France / Portugal

The Impossible Revolution / Anarchists in the

Spanish Revolution / The Spanish Civil War /

Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book / Cathing Them

Young 1: Sex, Race & Class in Children's Fiction /

Cathing Them Young II: Political Ideas in Child-

renss Fiction / The Protestants of Ulster / Bakun-

in on Violence / Science & Politics of I.Q. /

Sabotage: A Study in Industrial Conflict / Econ-

omic Genocide in Chile. Monetarist Theory versus

Humanity / Self-Management. Economic Liber-

ation of Man / Shorts . . .

Letters / 134

Coming Attractions — Cienfuegos Press titles scheduled for publication in 1978 — if we have the money — include: *Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution*, F. Mintz; *Anarchism in Japan*, V. Garcia; *An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry*, M. Graham; *What every Revolutionary should know about Repression*, Victor Serge; *The Origins of the Modern School*, F. Ferrer; *Marxism & Anarchism in the Russian Revolution*, Lehnning — plus lots more!!

Associate editors: Martyn Everett, Albert Meltzer, Dave Poole, Cliff Harper (art); co-ordinating editor, Stuart Christie. We would also like to thank Phil Billingsley, Geoff Charlton, Flavio Costantini, Sam Dolgoff, Marcus Graham, Mark Hendy, Frank Mintz, Les Prince, Phil Ruff, Peter Silcock, John Lintott, Victor Sharkey and all the other comrades who helped either with translations or in some other way.

The following list of people have been the mainstay and lifeblood of the 1977 Cienfuegos Press publications programme. It is only due to their financial, moral and physical commitment that we have been able to keep our head above water this year. Please help us to continue our work by making sure your name is on the list for the 1978 programme by renewing your subscription — or making a donation — before issue No.4 of the Review which we hope to get out in late January 1978: Phil Addington, Geoff Armstrong, Ronnie Alexander, Richard Alexander, Paul Avrich, Tonia Aminoff, Octavio Alberola, Guri Aarseth, Federico Arcos, Lee Brown, Ron Bates, Antony Beevor, Audrey Beecham, Steve Bonnett, Marty Blatt, Sheila Blanchard, Ross Bradshaw, Abe Bluestein, Arthur Bartell, Don Bennett, D.J. Bates, Paul Buckland, Mick Balfour, Phil Billingsley, Edgar Baierl, Dave Barnsdale, Alfredo Bonnano, Richard Christopher, Karl Cordell, Noam Chomsky, Dave Campbell, Paul Cheetham, A.G. Chappell, Dave Couch, T.V. Cahill, Alan Charles, Nick Carey, George & Louise Crowley, Dave Curr, Mick Cropper, R.J. Cruickshank, Flavio Costantini, Sam Dolgoff, Dave Dann, Leslie Doe, Mike Donaldson, Malcolm Dixon, Colin Darch, Terry Delaney, Martyn Everett, Roy Emery, Gunter Fries, Mike Fitzgerald, Tom Flittie, Fifth Estate Collective, Paul Gordon, Dave Goodway, Victor Garcia, Ariane Gransac, Bill Graham, Marcus Graham, Miguel Garcia, Ronnie Graham, Cliff Harper, Bruce Huebel, Mick Hunt, William Herrick, C.R. Huggins, Mark Hendy, Pat Hall, Nhat Hong, J.L. Harper, D. Harman, Michael Hughes, Steve Harries, Pete Hannan, Gary Jewell, Tom Jennings, James Jaffe, I.I.v.S.G., Neil Jarman, Robert Idso, Pat Jackson, Ian Lind, Steve Landstreet, John Lintott, Roland Lewin, Ken Lester, Columba Longmore, Robert Lynn, Lars Lunde, Franco Lombardini, Philip Levine, Franco Leggio, Pete Miller, Andy & Veronica McGowan, John McGuffin, Bernice Murry, Nancy Macdonald, D.K. Morris, S. Magliocca, Frank Mintz, Brian Michaels, Ragnar Myklehurst, Ron McKay, Dave McCulloch, Manfred, Ross & Fiona Macgilchrist, Ken Mazlin, Gerry Moore, Lino Molin, Tomy Mackhofny, Bill Nowlin Jr., Norman Nawrocki, Mike Nicholson, Graham Price, Terry Phillips, W.R. Philpott, Freddy & Lorraine Perlman, B. Pearson, Mike Payne, Les Prince, Stefanos Pantazis, C.R. Platts, Pete Phillips, Alan & Louise Ross, Paul Radford, Torben Retbqll, Robert Race, Aaron Rogat (deceased), Domingo Rojas, Pete Stanford, Len Still, Paul Sharkey, Ron Stephan, Joe Shaver, Nick Sherrington, Pete Skipsey, Pamela Sladek, Pete Silcock, Harry Siitonen, Martin Spence, Mike Sheehan, Shelby Shapiro, Stephen Soldz, P. Smith, Vince Stevenson, Jock Spence, Fred Springate, David Giles Todd, Dave Thomson, Antonio Tellez, Keith Taylor, Tamiment Library, Fran Taylor, Derek Tymes, Jerry Westall, Nicolas Walter, Dennis Woolf, Henry Weissbaum, Simon Watson Taylor, Dennis Webb, Pete Whitecross, Bill Wells, Andrew Whittet, Robert Anton Wilson, Mark Weber, Ted Whittaker, Goran Werin, Jean Weir, George Woolston, Dan Williams, P.D. Warren, Bob Young.

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Editorial

Here at last is the third issue of the *Review*. We are sorry for the delay in getting this out to you but as explained elsewhere we have had a lot of problems both financial and technical (we were also ripped off to the tune of £500 worth of books by a professor in Italy) which has taken some dealing with!!

Anyway, problems aside, here is the result of our labours over the past few months and we hope you feel it has been worth waiting for. Our aim is to eventually boost the number of issues of the *Review* up to four a year but this depends entirely on the reaction to this issue. Reaction to the last one was very favourable indeed but unfortunately this was not reflected in bookshop sales, perhaps due to what people felt was a rather high cover price of £1.00. We don't know how you will react to the price of this issue, but we would ask that you consider the enormous amount of material it contains, (equivalent incidentally to a 400 page book), and the extremely high cost of printing and binding. Lots of people think nothing of spending £4.00 a week on cigarettes plus the same again or more on drink, but they still complain bitterly about the price of anarchist literature which is a bit more durable than something which goes up in smoke or down the drain! Please keep that in mind while reading our financial notes!

All over the world there are universities, institutions, books, magazines, newspapers and organisations dedicated to what they describe as Marxist-Leninist theory, although it is doubtful if Marx would recognise his part in any of it. Lenin, perhaps would, he certainly did not foresee his being made the subject of a cult. The exposition of Marxist Leninism is incredibly dreary and boring, and, as honest readers sometimes admit – to scorn on the part of less frank readers indoctrinated in the cult – that they haven't read much, if any; as they find Marx heavy going; that Lenin sounds a bit of a clown hurling abuse at figures for unknown reasons; that Trotsky is too clever by half and reduces everything to personalities, while Stalin just couldn't have been translated properly, nobody writes that badly.

The elevation of Marxist Leninism into a "queen of the sciences" to replace theology, corresponds to the way it has been replaced by economics in capitalist countries, where, however, Marxist Leninism is taught too, and a whole university industry processes thought and tries to channel rebellion into prescribed patterns. Out of this comes the package deal of New Leftism and its accepted, often contradictory slogans and causes which are a "must" for followers, influenced by Leninism or, occasionally, by libertarianism but always by the university.

The resultant ideological concoction is well slanted in favour of Leninism in spite of the insertion of well diluted libertarian and situationist ideas. One can see it by examining the various programmes based on the New Left ideology; and it is reflected in the dreary pattern of Penguin Books, hitching its wagon to the New Left and making a nice sum out of expounding Marxist Leninism in volume after volume. Note in contrast the biased and pitiful coverage it gives on anarchism – a premature obituary by Woodcock, a few references to its rôle in present day Britain by Dave Widgery in which he manages to confine his remarks to the lavatory arrangements in an anarchist summer camp, and so on.

Yet for all that anarchism has become a subject of research. After all, the growth rate of the university industry with the churning out of theses on a dwindling market of original subjects necessitates that there could soon be an Anarchist Institute to compare with the Marxist Leninist ones, trying to explain Anarchism away and reducing it to a mere historical oddity, the way that the Institute for Workers Control attempts to deal with their subject. We may assume, however, that the hypothetical Institute will retail endless biographies and detail lives of the academically accepted greats, (necessarily omitting the academically unaccepted and lesser known, usually because they are from peasant or working class backgrounds), rather than expounding the theory and practice of the libertarian ideal. This concept can already be seen in the books ostensibly dealing with anarchism, which are usually biographical anecdotes of names in an accepted curriculum. Anarchism though springs from practice and not from only the theories of say Kropotkin or Bakunin, who were the first to admit that they themselves were pupils of what had been taught them from ordinary militants and activists.

The history of anarchism is the history of people who are virtually unknown. Ignored by academic historians, their lives have been spent in the bitter and protracted struggle for freedom. Some have recorded their lives in autobiographical accounts that remain unpublished, many more live on only in the memories of their now elderly comrades. In future issues of the *Review* we hope to correct the view of history that measures out the lives of anarchists in the number of books they have written or the obituary columns of *The Times*, by reprinting extracts from some of the unpublished manuscripts, and including interviews with, and articles by, some of the people who have been active in particular campaigns.

Another example of the bias inherent in much academic scholarship has been the almost total way in which the role of women in the revolutionary movement is ignored. Of course, there are the usual exceptions to the rule, but they are hard to find. The activities of such as Eva Lynch and May Ewart, who took part in the fight to establish the IWW in Australia, are glossed over.

When women are featured in articles or books they are nearly always kept within the confines of sexual emancipation – a subtle reflection of the way in which so many political movements allocate women a special sphere of interest. Anarchist women have always attempted to link personal liberation with social revolution, and have provided us all with a constant reminder that the two go hand-in-hand.

These thoughts must weigh heavy on us with the publication of a literary review which attempts to assess the history and practice of anarchism as well as books on the subject, not from the point of view of an academically inclined and state supported Institute, but from within the activist movement itself. We attempt, in the pages of our *Review*, to give a balanced view of anarchism, its theories, practice and literature, its libertarian influence and its criticisms of literature and the sciences, while not straying into the fields of State supported academics whose interests are often very different from ours, like the famous German judge Eltzbacher who wrote what he considered a definitive view of anarchism, in order to make his attack on it the easier.

In our press, we put forward to the best of our endeavour, the thought and struggles of international anarchism, as it really is; and to elucidate anarchist principles as they really are by anarchists themselves. Boring as the exposition of Marxist Leninist principles are, they remain at least an attempt to explain social and economic principles; only too often, alas, the exposition of libertarian principles becomes a recital of vague negatives or a rhetorical denunciation of evils which no sane person would defend anyway, a flourishing defence of freedom or attack on tyranny, (and how some delight in denouncing "violence," often taking the trouble to add helpful explanations as to its iniquity!).

We hope we have gone some way along the road to providing a theoretical and practical vehicle for international anarchism, thus helping to distinguish it in the eyes of fellow workers from the bankrupt ideas of Marxism on the one hand and impractical liberal pacifism on the other, while fortifying true libertarians in their own history and ideas.

There seems to have been some confusion with this year's sustaining subscription and what subscribers were to expect in the way of titles. Please note that all subscribers for 1977 (and life subs) should have received the following titles as part of their sub offer: *The Russian Tragedy*, *The Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book*, *Marxism and a Free Society* (out of print, to be reprinted soon), issue no.2 of the *Review*, the present issue of the *Review*, *Land and Liberty – Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution – Ricardo Flores Magon and The Face of Spanish Anarchism* (these last two titles will be published and out before the end of the year so please be patient). If there are any subscribers who have not received these titles please let us know as soon as possible and we'll remedy the matter with our sincere apologies to all concerned.

The next issue of the *Review* will be ready some time in January/February and to ensure you receive your copy please try to renew your subscription (£7.00 for 1978) before January if possible. It will be the same length as the present issue, perhaps longer, and will cover an equally wide range of subjects and books including a history of the Anarchist Movement in Portugal, a History of the Libertarian Movement in Holland, *Reminiscences of Pampas Life: The Tragic Week of January 1919*, *The Life and Work of Camillo Berneri*, *A Life of Bakunin* by James Guillaume, *Wilhelm Reich*, *Nikola Tesla*, *The IWW in South Africa*, *Spartakus and the Anarchists* by John Olday, *Miracles and the Nature of Truth*, *Charlotte Wilson*, a new revised and updated version of *The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China* with a new introduction by Shelby Shapiro, *Anarchism in Chinese Political Thought*, *Anarchy in the Navy*, *The Spirituality Rip-Off* (Transcendental Meditation), *The Roman Catholic Church*, *The Psychology of the Anarchist* (from *The Anarchist Peril*), *Expropriation*, plus lots of other scintillating articles, illustrations and humour.

Something else we'll be developing in the pages of the *Review*, with an eye to placing restricted and controlled items back into the hands of the people, will be articles dedicated to providing you with information relating to self-defence units should the country fall to the enemy, without or within.

We wouldn't want to be caught with our pants down like Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Spain etc., would we? If any lessons are to be drawn from history it is that the people cannot and should not depend on the

state apparatus to defend them in the event of attack by aggressors. Should we as individuals and the few freedoms we have left be threatened, from whatever source, it would be inevitable that whenever defeated those in power would automatically be absorbed into the new ruling class. With this firmly in mind we would urge the dissemination of the concept of the people armed (only in the event of the above situation developing, of course) and to this end intend among other things to publish step by step methods for constructing 9mm sub-machine guns from car axles, steel tubing, nuts, bolts and other easily obtainable items (with plans for magazines as well). This particular weapon may be manufactured by hand *without* the assistance of power tools. We'll also explore the technology and viability of setting up anarchist radio transmitters in "occupied" areas, with instructions for building and operating, and cover such useful techniques as dealing with bugging and clandestine printing.

As we have mentioned on earlier occasions, we are in the process of preparing a list of articles for inclusion in our English language version of the *Anarchist Encyclopaedia*. To ensure maximum participation in this work we would like to enlist the assistance of as many comrades and sympathisers as possible. If you are interested in this project please write to us at your earliest opportunity and let us know if you would be prepared to submit an article on any subject from a libertarian standpoint. We also need plenty of translators and illustrators, so please let us hear from you.

Please note that an index of the first three issues of the C.P. *Review* will be mailed out to subscribers with *Land and Liberty*, which shouldn't be too long. A more detailed cross-reference index will be published with each volume. Copies of the *Easter Cancelled!* centrespread of this issue are available as offprints for flyposting in your neighbourhood at 50p per 25 sheets (+ 15p p&p). *Black Flag and Cienfuegos Press Review* are seriously considering the possibility of a regular news sheet for flyposting up and down the country and would like to hear from groups who would undertake to subscribe to the idea and flypost these wall sheets regularly.

The Editors

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

The best way of making sure you receive all copies of the "Review" and all C.P. titles published in 1978, immediately they are published, is to take out a sustaining subscription now! (You can also help by making regular monthly, quarterly/ yearly donations!) Please fill out this Bankers Order form (or copy it out if you don't want a hole in your journal) and send it off today to your Bank Manager, (Sub rates for 1978: £7.00/ \$14.00)

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Please pay to the account of Cienfuegos Press, Royal Bank of Scotland Ltd., 1 Victoria Street, Kirkwall, Orkney, U.K. (A/c no. 128 055 - or Giro a/c no. 178 0050) on the.... day of.... 19.... and monthly/quarterly/ annually thereafter until cancelled, the amount of.....

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Finances

Comrades! Supporters! Once more Cienfuegos Press needs your financial support. Although the situation is improving it still remains poor. What is needed now is one major effort to get us out of the cycle of increased sales = increased revenue = even greater costs. Ethically speaking, it may be a very ugly fact but until we have a solid financial base we will be unable to lower the prices of our books (from their already modest levels), and to increase the number of Cienfuegos titles in circulation. Perhaps an example will illustrate the point. At the present we have a bill of around £750.00 to foot for our notorious IBM typesetting machine which we have to pay *immediately*. On top of this we have various creditors who would, at some point in time, like their money back and, worst of all, we have a bank overdraft which, if not repaid soon will be called in; after all banks do not consider themselves charities for anarchist publishing ventures.

This is one of the reasons why our next title *Land and Liberty* is not out yet. We had hoped it would be out before this issue of the "Review" appeared but this was not to be. However, it should be with you in a matter of weeks after receiving this issue. This should give you some idea of the whole financial situation at present. If we do not do something fast there is the possibility that the whole project could backfire and Cienfuegos Press publications pass into history. We would like to think that no anarchist would wish to see this happen. So, to steal, with absolutely no apologies, a line from a Bolshevik mummy, "What is to be done?"

We have given this considerable thought and come up with a few ideas; some new, others not so new. Apart from ordering our titles for your library and asking them to subscribe to this publication - which has other advantages inasmuch as sympathisers or casual readers may read a particular book and thus become comrades - we would ask you to try to persuade friends to buy some of our titles or better still, take out a sustaining subscription. You can also order all your books - and your library's, institution's, paperbacks and hardbacks through our book service and/or send us a donation. Everything you can do to help will be gratefully received and will help in the stabilising of a sound anarchist presence in publishing.

The new ideas include a voluntary rise in the price of a sustaining subscription to £7.00 as from January 1978. As things stand at the present this should bring in £120.00 a year extra if all subscribers agree to help in this way. Furthermore we would ask all comrades and supporters to persuade two or three (or more) individuals or groups to take out a £7.00 subscription which in turn could yield an extra £2,660 annually. If you belong to a local group of Federation why not take out a group subscription?

The second thing we want to develop is a U.S. distribution network with the assistance of Carrier Pigeon in Boston. This also requires a considerable outlay to begin with (approx. £1000) but at present demand levels we would sell about 1000 titles in the USA, with a total value to us of about £1,880 which, together with the extra £3,500 from new and increased subscriptions would yield an extra £5,380 per year, not taking inflation into account. Even allowing for compensating levels of inflation we

should, in three to four years, be able to announce to an awestruck world, that we have cleared all debts old and new!

The reasons for appealing for funds in this manner are many. We could go cap in hand to the bank and plead for an extension of existing credit for more credit. The bank, however, could say no and, furthermore, interest charges will have to be paid and they can be as crippling as any loan itself. We could ask certain comrades for loans or donations (large ones that is), but why should we? Some comrades who are not even fully committed to supporting Cienfuegos have given large donations in the past and we don't want to continually live off their good nature. No, we must try to spread the load more fairly and in the case of subscribers forking out an extra £1.00 a year, after all it only the price of 2½ pints of lager. Again, we could slap a 10% price rise on our titles but that would probably hit sales which would in turn lead to fewer sympathisers and casual readers becoming comrades. Alternatively we could lower our prices to try and increase sales but that inevitably leads to the suspicion that we are producing cheap pulp propaganda.

So, to summarise, we would like around £120.00 from existing subscribers. We also want 380 new subscribers at £7.00 a piece to give us an extra £2,660 and a further £1000 from everyone to help cover the costs of setting up a US distribution for Cienfuegos Press publications (which in turn will give us an extra £1,880). If Carrier Pigeon in the States is successful with our titles we should be able to get the unit production costs of our titles down from 50p to 40p. In view of the massive sums given freely every week to less worthy projects and things (Aims of Industry, NAFFF, income tax etc) we are not asking for that much. With enough faith in ourselves we can establish Cienfuegos Press and the *Review* into a truly international forum for anarchist ideas making it an effective propaganda weapon which will go a long way towards persuading others away from authoritarian attitudes by showing a viable libertarian alternative.

The success of Cienfuegos Press lies in the hands of its subscribers - its lifeblood. Please help us not only to continue our work, but to expand it with each issue of the *Review* and each new title. We are only able to publish in direct ratio to the amount of money we have in the kitty at any given time and how much we owe others. Please help! - now!

The Englishman (Financial adviser to C.P. pubs.)

Financial Position (August 1977)

	Dr.	Cr.
Loans		950
Sales		7000
Purchases	6782	
Post (year)	1080	
Packing (year)	220	
Phone (year)	640	
Stationery	250	
Artwork	250	
Advertising	150	
Petty Cash	150	
Wages	600	
Creditors		7840
Fixtures	6500	
Stock	7333	
Stock	2801	
Capital		2
	<u>£26756</u>	<u>£15792</u>
		<u>£10964</u> Deficit c/f
		<u>£26756</u>

(The above figures do not include the costs of the current issue of the *Review* - appx. £1500!)

Albert Meltzer

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF ANARCHISM

The Historical Background of Anarchism

It is not without interest that what might be called the anarchist approach goes back into antiquity; nor that there is an anarchism of sorts in the peasant movements that struggled against State oppression over the centuries. But the modern Anarchist Movement could not claim such precursors of revolt as its own more than the other modern working class theories. To trace the modern Anarchist movement we must look closer to our own times. While there existed libertarian and non-Statist and federalist groups, which we would now call anarchist, before 1869, it was only in or about that year that they first became what we now call Anarchist.

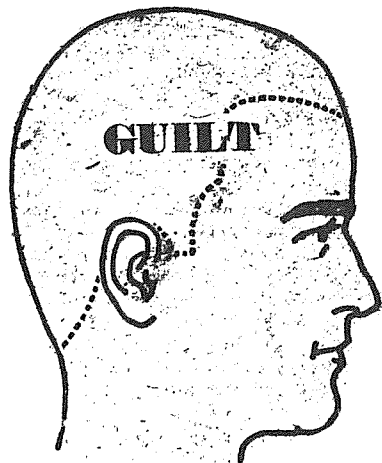
In particular, we may cite three philosophical precursors of Anarchism: Godwin, Proudhon and Hegel. None of the three was in fact an Anarchist, though Proudhon first used the term in its modern sense (taking it from the French Revolution, when it was first used politically and not entirely pejoratively). None of them engaged in Anarchist activity or struggle, nor knew of such a thing as "Anarchism". One of the poorest though objective books on Anarchism, Eltzbacher's *Anarchism*, describes Anarchism as a sort of hydra-headed theory some of which comes from Godwin, or Proudhon, or Stirner, or Kropotkin, and so on. The book may be tossed aside as valueless except in its descriptions of what these particular men thought. Proudhon did not write a programme for all time; nor did Kropotkin in his time write for a sect of Anarchists.

Godwin is the father of the Stateless Society Movement; which we may begin at once by saying diverged into three lines. One, that of the Anarchists (with which we will deal). Two, that of American Individualism, which included Thoreau and his school, sometimes thought of as anarchistic, but which equally gives rise to "Rugged Individualism" of the Goldwater school and to Tolstoyanism (so-called) and Ghandism. This second line of descent from Godwin is responsible for the "Pacifist Anarchist" approach or the "Individualist-Anarchist" approach that

differs radically from revolutionary anarchism in the first line of descent. It is too readily conceded that "this is, after all, anarchism". Pacifist movements, and the Gandhian in particular, are usually totalitarian and impose authority (even if by moral means); the school of Benjamin Tucker — by virtue of their "individualism" — accepted the need for police to break strikes so as to guarantee the employer's "freedom". All this school of so-called Individualists accept, at one time or another, the necessity of the police force, hence for government, and an *a priori* definition of anarchism is *no government*. The third school of descent from Godwin is simple liberalism.

Dealing here with the "first line of descent" from Godwin, his idea of Stateless Society was introduced into the working class movement by Ambrose Cuddon. A revolutionary "internationalist", and non-Statist socialism came along with the late days of English Chartism. It had some sympathy with the French Proudhonians. Those who in Paris accepted Proudhon's theory did not consider themselves Anarchists, but Republicans. They were for the most part master artisans, running one-man productive businesses. The whole of French economy was geared both to the peasantry and to the master artisan. Independent, individualistic, and receiving no benefit from the State save the dubious privilege of paying taxes and fighting, they were at that time concerned to find out an economic method of survival and to withstand encroaching capitalism.

These French and English movements came together in the First International. The International Workingmen's Association owed its existence to Marx, indirectly to Hegelian philosophy. But within the International, there was not only the "scientific socialism" of Marx, but also Utopian Socialism, Blanquism, English Trade Unionism, German authoritarian and opportunistic socialism, Republicanism, and the various "federalistic" trends. Bakunin was not the father of anarchism, nor the "Marx" of anarchism, as often thought. He was not an anarchist until late in life. He learned his federalism and socialism from the Swiss workers of the Jura, and gave expression to the ideas of the Godwinian and Proudhonian "federalists" or non-State socialists. In many countries, Spain and Italy in particular, it was Bakunin's criticism of the ideas of Marx that gave the federalist movement its definition. (While to Anarchists, Marx is of course "the villain of the piece" in the International, it must be granted that without Marx, clearly defining one form of socialism, there would have been no direct clash, no Bakunin clearly defining an opp-



osite). There had grown up by 1869 a very noticeable trend within the International that was called "Bakuninist", but which was very clearly in one line of descent from Godwin and in another line from Proudhon. When the Paris Commune exploded in the face of the International, it was the parting of the ways (though this was deferred a little longer, and seemed to follow personal lines). From then on, Anarchists and Marxists knew by their different analyses and interpretations and actions during the Paris Commune, that they were separate.

For many years, all the same, Anarchists continued to form part of the Socialist Movement. Marx had not succeeded in building a mass movement. The German socialist movement was more influenced by Lassalle; English socialism by the reformist and Christian traditions of Radical Nonconformity. Only after Marx's death, when Marxism was the official doctrine of German social-democracy, were Anarchists excluded from Socialist Internationals; Social-Democracy marched on to its own schism, that between English Liberalism masquerading as Labour on the one hand, and Social Democracy on the other; and that between Majority Social Democracy (Bolshevism) and reformism. There were no more schisms in the anarchist movement; popular opinion made such figures as Tolstoy into an Anarchist (he was not; neither was he in the normal sense of the term a Christian nor a Pacifist, as popularly supposed), but he derived, if he were such, very clearly from the "second line" of Godwinism. What we may perhaps call "mainstream Anarchism" was singularly coherent and united, and it was given body by the writings of a number of theoreticians, such as Peter Kröpotkin.

After the bloody suppression of the Paris Commune, and the repressions in many parts of the world, Anarchism passed into its well-known stage of individual terrorism; it fought back, and survived, and gave birth to (or was carried forward in) the revolutionary syndicalist movement which began in France. It lost ground after the First World War, both because of the growth of reformist socialism, and the rise of fascism; and while it made a certain contribution to the Russian Revolution, it was defeated by the Bolshevik counter-revolution. It was seen in both a destructive and constructive role in the Spanish Revolution of 1936.

By the time of the Second World War, Anarchism had been tried and tested in many revolutionary situations and labour struggles. Alternative forms had been tried and discarded. The German Revolution had introduced the idea of Workers' Councils; the experience of the American IWW had shown the possibilities inherent in industrial unionism. Moreover, the "flint against flint" in the argument against Marxist Communism, the lessons of what

socialism without freedom meant in Russia, and the failure of reformist socialism everywhere, helped to shape the anarchist doctrine.

There were never theoreticians of Anarchism as such, though it produced a number of theoreticians who discussed aspects of the philosophy. Anarchism has remained a creed that has been worked out in practice. Very often, a bourgeois writer comes along and writes down what has already been worked out in practice by workers and peasants; he is attributed by bourgeois historians as being a leader, and by successive bourgeois writers (citing the bourgeois historians) as being one more case that proves the working class relies upon bourgeois leaders.

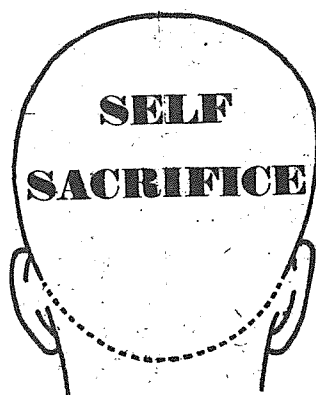
The idea of Anarchism survived the failure of anarchist organisation. The reconstituted I.W.M.A. ("the Berlin International") became in effect reformist; exiled organisations were reduced to impotence; in some cases the name became fashionable but the idea unknown or ignored.

JUSTIFICATION OF ANARCHISM

That Man is born free

Our rights are inalienable. Each person born on the world is heir to all the preceding ages. The whole world is ours by right of birth alone. Duties, imposed as obligations or ideals, such as patriotism, duty to the State, worship of God, submission to higher classes or authorities, respect for inherited privileges, are lies.

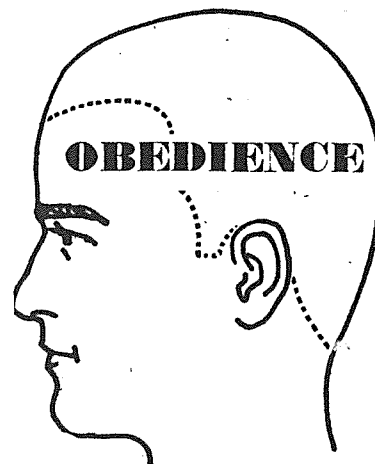
If man is born free, slavery is murder
Nobody is fit to rule another. It is not alleged



that Man is perfect, or that, merely through his natural goodness he should not be submitted to rule. There are no supermen or privileged classes who are "above imperfect Man" and are capable or entitled to rule the rest of us. Submission to slavery means surrender of life.

As slavery is murder, so property is theft
The fact that Man cannot enter into his natural inheritance means that part of it has been taken from him; either by means of force (old, legalised conquest or robbery) or fraud (persuasion that the State or its servants or an inherited property owning class is entitled to privilege). All present systems of ownership mean that some are deprived of the fruits of their labour. It is true that, in a competitive society, only the possession of independent means enables one to be free of the economy (this is what Proudhon meant when, addressing himself to a master artisan, he said "property is liberty" which seems at first sight in contradiction with his dictum that it was theft.) But the principle of ownership, in that which concerns the community, is at the bottom of inequity.

If property is theft, government is tyranny
If we accept the principle of a socialised society, and abolishing hereditary privilege, and dominant classes, the State becomes unnecessary and unnecessary government is tyranny. "Liberty without socialism is exploitation; socialism without liberty is tyranny" (Bakunin).



If government is tyranny, anarchy is liberty
Those who use the word "anarchy" to mean disorder or misrule are not incorrect. If they regard Government as necessary, if they think we could not live without Whitehall directing our affairs, if they think politicians are essential to our well-being and that we could not behave socially without policemen, they are right in assuming that anarchy means the opposite to what government guarantees. But those who take the reverse opinion, and consider government to be tyranny, are right too in considering anarchy, no-government, to be liberty. If government is the maintenance of privilege and exploitation and inefficiency of distribution its tool then only anarchy is order.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Revolutionary anarchism is based upon the class struggle, though it is true that often even the best of anarchist spokesmen, striving to avoid Marxist phraseology, may express it differently. It does not take the mechanistic view of the class struggle taken by Marx and Engels. It does not take the view that only the industrial proletariat can achieve socialism, and that the victory of this class represents the final victory. On the contrary: had anarchism been victorious in any period before 1914, it would have been a triumph for the peasants and artisans, rather than the industrial proletariat amongst whom it was not widespread. Marxists accuse the artisans of being petit bourgeois which is a phrase used at the time by Marx; but there was a vast difference between the petit bourgeois of that day — cobblers, tailors, bookbinders, one-man printers, goldsmiths, saddlers, etc., all productive men engaged on their own account, and the non-productive "petit bourgeoisie" (Civil Servants, manufacturers, etc.) of today.

Any class may be revolutionary in its day and time; only a productive class may be libertarian in nature, because it does not need to exploit. The industrialisation of most Western countries has meant that the industrial proletariat has replaced the old "petit bourgeoisie"; and what is left of the "petit bourgeoisie" has become capitalist instead of working class, or the functionaries of the State.

As this happened, so the anarchist movement developed into anarcho-syndicalism, i.e. the idea that combinations of workers could, by organising themselves at their place of work and ultimately by running their own places of work, be the means of by-passing a State-run economy at the same time as eliminating a ruling class.

It has never been claimed (even, and especially, by Marx) that the working class were an idealised class (this belonged to the Christian Socialists, not the anti-idealistic Marxists of Bakuninists). Nor was it ever suggested they alone could be

revolutionary; or that they could not be reactionary. It would be trying the reader's patience too much to reiterate all the "working-class are not angels" statements in repudiation of working class struggle which purport to refute that the working class could not run their own places of work. Suffice it to say that only in heaven would it be necessary for angels to take over the functions of management.

ORGANISATION AND ANARCHISM

Those belonging to or coming from authoritarian parties find it hard to believe that it is possible to organise without "some form" of government. Therefore they conclude, and it is a popular argument against anarchism, that "anarchists do not believe in organisation". For instance:

"They break up other people's organisations but are unable to do anything because they do not believe in building their own"

They may well break up organisations because they are dangerous, hierarchical or useless, but it is true to say they do not believe in building their own. It can well be admitted that particular people in particular places may have failed in such a task. It is true that in Great Britain, for instance, the anarchists have not yet succeeded in building up an effective organisation. This is a valid, internal criticism. But it is untrue to say that there *cannot be such a thing* as anarchist organisation. An organisation may be democratic or dictatorial; it may be authoritarian or libertarian; and there are many libertarian organisations, not necessarily anarchistic, which prove that all organisation need not be run from the top downwards.

It is significant that many trade unions, in order to keep their movement disciplined, and their members in an integral part of capitalist society, become (if they do not start as) authoritarian; but how many employers' organisations impose similar discipline? They cannot; because their members would walk out. They must come to free agreement, because the members have their independence ("property is liberty").

Only the most revolutionary unions of the world (I.W.W. of America, C.N.T. of Spain, etc.) learned how to keep the form of organisation of mass labour movements on an informal basis, with a minimum of central administration, and with every decision referred back to the workers on the job.

THE ROLE OF THE ANARCHIST IN AN AUTHORITARIAN SOCIETY

The only place for a free man in a slave society was in prison, said Thoreau (after spending a night inside). It is a stirring affirmation, but not one to live by. The revolutionary must indeed be prepared for persecution and prosecution, but only the masochist would welcome it. It must always remain an individual action and decision as to how far one can be consistent in one's rebellion; it is not something that can be laid down. Anarchists have pioneered or participated in many forms of social rebellion and social reconstruction: libertarian education, the formation of labour movements, collectivisation, individual direct action in its many forms, and so on.

When advocating anarcho-syndicalist tactics, it is because social change for the *whole* of society can only come about through a change of the economy. Individual action may serve some liberatory purpose for the individual; for example one may retire to a country commune, surround oneself with likeminded people and ignore the world. One may then, indeed, live in a free economy. But one will not bring about social change. It is not because we think that "the industrial proletariat can do no wrong" that we advocate action by the industrial proletariat;

it is simply because they have the effective means to destroy the old economy and build a new one, in our type of society at least. The Free Society (which we shall later describe) will come about through workers' councils taking over the places of work and by conscious destruction of the authoritarian institutions.

Workers' Control

When advocating workers' control of the places of work, we divide from those who merely want a share of management, or imagine there can be an encroachment upon managerial function by the workers. We want no authority supreme to that of the workers' council, consisting of all the workers and not of their delegates. We reject "nationalisation" — State control.

It should not be (but is, alas) necessary to explain that there are, of course, ways of personal liberation, and in some cases these may be necessary lest one starve, other than by mass action. But none of these can ultimately *change* society. The master artisan no longer plays an important part in production, as he did in Proudhon's day. One can get more satisfaction by working on one's own; one may indeed have to do so by economic necessity; but the means of changing society rest with those who are working in the basic economy. The "gang system" of Coventry is sometimes advocated as a means of workers' control. But it is partial control only: power remains with the financial boss. It can become a more pleasant method of working, within the capitalist system; but it cannot be a means of overthrowing the system. By all means let the system be alleviated; we do not oppose the reform of conditions of work. But we do not pretend either that this has anything to do with building the free society.

The Anarchist as Rebel

It is not unknown for the individual Anarchist to fight on, alone, both putting forward his own principles and acting as a catalyst of rebellion. Examples come to mind of M.P.T. Acharya, in India, and J.W. Fleming, in Australia, fighting on for their anarchist ideas, alone, the only one in the country. But it was not of their choice. Mostly, anarchists tend to form groups based upon the locality in which they live. They may participate in other struggles (anti-militarism, anti-imperialism, etc.) or solely within the context of the class struggle (as "agitators" at work) or they may form organisations.

It is no part of the case for anarchism to say that the profession of its ideas changes peoples' character; or that the movement invites itself to be judged on anyone who happened to be around at the time. Organisations may become reformist or authoritarian. People may become corrupted by money or power. All we do say is that ultimately such corruption leads them to drop the name "anarchist" as standing in their way. (If ever the term became "respectable", no doubt we would have to choose a fresh one, equally connotative of libertarian rebellion!).

In all organisations, personalities play a part, and it may be that in different countries different schisms may occur. Some will say that there are different types of Anarchism — syndicalism, communism, individualism, pacifism. This is not so. If one wishes to cause a schism, purely because of personal reasons or because one wishes to become more quietist or reformist, it is no doubt more convenient to pick a name as a "banner". But in reality there are not different forms of anarchism. Anarchist-Communism, in any definition (usually that of Kropotkin) means a method of socialisation without government. An alternative idea, Anarchist-Collectivism (favoured by the Spanish Anarchists) was found in practice to be no different. If one is going to have no rule from above, one cannot lay down a precise economic plan. Communism, in the sense used by the

Anarchists, is society based on the commune, i.e. the locality. Collectivism, based upon the place of work, is a division of the commune. But few anarcho-communists would dispute that unless the commune were very small (based upon the village, not upon the town) it would have to be sub-divided into smaller units, collectives, in order that all might participate and not merely their elected representatives. Otherwise, it would become merely industrial democracy. Whilst communism is an aim, syndicalism is a method of struggle. It is the union of workers within the industrial system, attempting to transform it into a free communistic society.

Whilst in a largely peasant country, like Bulgaria, the anarchist movement was "anarcho-communist" because its natural form of organisation was the village commune, it could not be said that the aim of the Bulgarian anarcho-communist movement was any different from that say of the Italian anarcho-syndicalist movement. It is true that just as communism is not *necessarily* anarchist (we do not speak of the Russian type of Statism, State communism, but of authoritarian communism in its genuine form), so syndicalism need not necessarily be revolutionary. Moreover, even revolutionary syndicalism (the idea that the workers can seize the places of work through factory organisation) need not be libertarian; it could go hand in hand with the idea of a political party exercising ultimate control.

Non-Violence

Is pacifism a trend within the anarchist movement? The pacifism of Gandhi etc., is essentially authoritarian. The cult of non-violence as such always implies an elite, the Satyagrahi, who keep everyone else in check either by force or by moral persuasion. The general history of the orthodox pacifist movements is that they always attempt to dilute the revolutionary movement; but may come down on the side of force either in an imperialist war or by condoning aggressive actions by the governments it supports. However, it would be true to say that many Anarchists do consider it compatible with their Anarchism to be pacifists, in the sense that they advocate the use of non-violent methods (though usually nowadays advocating this on the grounds of expediency or tactics rather than principle). This type of pacifist-Anarchism might be considered a difference of policy rather than of ideas; it should not be confused with the "Tolstoyan Anarchism" (neither advocated by Tolstoy nor anarchistic) which elevates non-violence as an idol in itself.

Immediate Aims of the Anarchist

A "reformist" is not someone who brings about reforms (he usually does not); it is someone who can see no further than amelioration of certain parts of the system.² It is often necessary to agitate for the abolition of certain laws.

Sometimes the law is more harmful than the thing it legislates against and there is a danger that abolition of the law, bad as it is, might imply approval of the act itself (e.g. suicide). But this is a risk that the libertarian must take. No laws are worth passing; even those which are socially beneficial on the surface (e.g. against racial discrimination) are quite likely to be used wrongly. The Race Relations Bill and the Public Order Bill were pressed for by liberals, and were used against them. The Anarchist seeks to change attitudes and minds. When those are altered, laws become obsolete and unnecessary. At a certain point, the lawyers will be unable to operate them. At a later date, the politicians will re-codify their laws so as to be able to continue in business. The refusal of juries to convict thieves accused of theft above a certain amount, led to the ending of the death penalty for theft. The Witchcraft Act remained on the books until

a mere 30 odd years ago, but the Public Prosecutor only dared rely on a few of its clauses, for fear of public ridicule. The Tories passed the Trade Disputes Act in vindictiveness after the General Strike, but public opinion was so much against it they never could use it and until a solid trade unionist became Minister of Labour, it was worthless. The "1381" Act was useful for squatters to trip up the council. To go to jail shouting "You can't do this, it's against the law of 1381" can only be regarded as a gesture.

It is necessary to carry on a resistance to any form of tyranny. It has been shown, too, very clearly in recent years that it is often useful to provoke the allegedly democratic forces of government into a position where it shows its true face of violence and repression. When governments see their privileges threatened, they drop the pretence of benevolence which most politicians prefer.

"Anarchists are able to bring about disorder, but cannot seize power. Hence they are unable to take advantage of the situation they create. . . and the bourgeoisie, regrouping its strength, turns to fascism." A Marxist

Anarchists can, of course, "seize power" quite as much as strict teetotallers can get blind drunk. Nothing prevents them doing so, but they would require another name afterwards. Anarchists in power would not necessarily be any better or worse than socialists or liberals; they might be as bad as communists or fascists; they would, we hope, be totally ineffective because unprepared. Their task is not to "seize power" (and those who use this term show surely that they seek personal power for *themselves*) but to abolish the bases of power. For power to *all* means power to nobody in particular.

It is true that if one leaves the wild animal of State power partially wounded, it becomes a raging beast that will destroy or be destroyed. It is this logic that causes anarchists to form organisations to bring about revolutionary change. The nature of anarchism as an individualistic creed has often caused many to view the question of such organisation as one that might well be left to "spontaneity", "voluntary will", and so on. In other words, to say that there can be no organisation (save that of propaganda only) until the entire community forms its own organisations. But it is shown by events that a unity of resistance is needed against repression; that there must be united forms of action even if there are diversified forms of propaganda; and that even when, for instance, workers' councils are formed, there are divisions between them on political grounds. Each political faction has its representatives — united outside on party lines — which are able to put forward a united front within such councils and to dominate and ultimately subordinate them. There must therefore be an organised movement of anarchists if they are to be able to withstand the forces of authoritarianism. Such an organisation might well be obliged to rely upon acts of individual terrorism (such as used in China and Spain) to defend itself.

Workers' Self-Defence

The Marxist Leninists in times of revolution prefer to rely upon the formation of a Red Army — a classic misuse of revolutionary terms. Under the control of one party, the "Red" Army is the old army under a red flag. We can see only too clearly how this can become a major instrument of repression. (Poland, after the first world war; Hungary, etc., after the Second). The very formation of an Army, to supersede workers' militias, will destroy the Revolution (Spain 1936). The newest romantic idea of a Red Army is the Guevarist notion of a peasants' army — combining the spontaneity and freedom of the Makhnovists

and Zapatista/Magonista (anarchistic) peasant armies with the discipline of the Party intellectuals. It has appealed immensely to the intellectuals but found less favour amongst the peasants; it finds even more favour among intellectuals than the fewer peasants there are! Regis Debray derides the workers' "self-defence" notions of anarcho-syndicalism. Briefly, these are that the workers use arms in their own defence, against the enemy at hand: it is the idea of the people at work, armed, during periods of social transformation. (The Israelites have taken over the "self-defence" idea with major success — not as libertarians but out of national efficiency; indeed, so far as military action is concerned, they have shown that it can sometimes wage aggressive war successfully, or defeat a Red Army led invasion. For purely political reasons, Debray declined to take this into account; although it is an example more apposite to Western industrial countries than is the Castro movement, for instance. That the Israeli Army is nationalistic is beside the point. Its mode of organisation within the nation state is largely voluntary. It follows patterns laid down by General Orde Wingate who understood guerrilla tactics better than Che Guevara, for all the fact that he was an imperial soldier. The lack of discipline in the workers' militias does not necessarily imply inefficiency.

How Will a Revolution Come About?

We do not know. When a revolutionary situation presents itself — as it did with the occupation of the factories in France in 1968 (or 1936); as it did in Spain in 1936 with the fascist uprising; or with the break down of the Russian Armies in 1917; or in many other times and places; we are either ready for it, or we are not. Too often the workers are partially ready, and leave the "wounded wild animal" of capitalism or Statism fiercer than ever. It may be purely individual action that sets off the spark. But only if, at that period, there is a conscious movement towards the free society, that throws off the shackles of the past, will that situation become a Social Change.

BRINGING ABOUT THE NEW SOCIETY

What constitutes an authoritarian society?

EXPLOITATION — MANIPULATION — SUPPRESSION. The organs of repression, which consist of many arms of "The Establishment", for example:

The Apparatus of Government — the legislature, the judiciary, the monarchy, the Civil Service, the Armed Forces, the Police, etc.

The Apparatus of Persuasion — the Church,* the Press, TV, Radio, etc.

The Apparatus of Exploitation — the monetary system, financial control, the Banks, the Stock Exchange, individual and collective and State employers.

Most political reformers have some part of the unfree system that they wish to abolish (Republicans would abolish the Monarchy; Secularists would abolish the Church; Socialists would, or used to wish to, abolish the apparatus of exploitation; Pacifists would abolish the Army). Anarchists are in fact unique in wishing to abolish all. Nobody but the Anarchists wishes to abolish the Police. The Police (or the police in ultimate practice, which includes the Armed Forces) are the cornerstone of the State. Without control of the police, debates at Westminster become as sterile of result as debates of the West Kensington Debating Society (and probably far less interesting). With German money, supplied by Helphand Parvus, Lenin was able to return to Russia and to pay

* Of course, the Church can be, in some societies, an instrument of Government itself. It probably would be in the absence of a secular State.

Lettish mercenaries to act as police. He was the only one who could do so and in this one fact Bolshevik success is constituted.

Can one do without the State?

It seems to be generally agreed we can do without *some* organs of the State; can we do without them all, altogether? One cannot do the work of another (if the monarchy does not have an army, it cannot save you from foreign invasion; and the police will not get you into heaven if you do not have a church!) Any common sense codification of conduct would be better than the farrago of laws we have at present, which occupy both the lawyers and the politicians, the one interpreting the apparent desires of the other.

It is true that government does take over certain necessary social functions. The railways were not always run by the State; they belonged to capitalists, and could equally in a future society belong to the workers. Even the police at times fulfil some necessary functions: one goes to the police station to find lost dogs simply because it happens to be there. It does not follow we should never find lost dogs if there were no policing, and that we need to be clubbed over the heads in time of social unrest so that old ladies need not lose their dogs.

There was an old superstition that if the Church excommunicated a country, it was under a terrible disaster. One could not be married, buried, leave property, do business in safety, be educated, be tended whilst sick, whilst the country was excommunicated. It was not an idle superstition: so long as people believed in the Church, if it banned a country from the communion of believers, the hospitals (run by the Church) were closed; there could be no trust in business (the clerics administered oaths); no education (they ran the schools); children could indeed be begotten, but not christened and were therefore barred from the community of believers; and unmarried parents could not leave property to their illegitimate children. One did not need the physical reality of Hell to make excommunication effective. We are wiser now. But our superstition has been transferred to belief in the State. If, we were to reject government there would be no education (for the government controls the schools), no hospitals (ditto); nobody could carry on working because the government regulates the means of exploitation, and so on. The truth all the time has been that *not the Church and not the State but the People* have worked for everything we have got; and if we have not done so, *they* have not provided for us. Even the privileged class has been maintained by *us* not *them*.

The myth of taxation

The State myth calls into creation a second-hand myth, the money myth. According to this legend, all the wealth of the country is to be found at Waterlow's printing works. As the notes roll off the presses, so our wealth is created; and if this ceased, we should be impoverished! An alternative but dated version was that these notes had to correspond with a quantity of gold buried deep in a mysterious vault (but it has long since been found that the government "welshed" on that angle!) A secondary myth is involved: that the rich help the poor (and not vice versa): that by means of *taxation* taken from the rich, those who are poor are "subsidised". The widespread belief in subsidisation is so great that it defies reasoned attack. Many worthy people believe that if Lady X did not spend her money on her yacht, that yacht could mysteriously be transformed into an X ray apparatus for the local hospital. They do not understand that yacht builders cannot produce X ray equipment. Others think that those on National Assistance are being supported by those at work). Yet the margin of unemployment is plainly needed by the State to make the

system of exploitation work. It is as necessary as the Armed Forces. Still more people believe there is a relation between the way their wages go up and down and the wages received by other people. In fact, in a competitive society, they get what they are able to command.

The Abolition of the Wage and Monetary Systems
To abolish the system of financial control, it is necessary first to understand it. We put it here in a simple fashion. The Government, or the effective financial controller which may in some cases be over the Government (the banks), assess the national wealth. A corresponding number of bank notes are printed, coin is struck, credits are granted to financial houses. According to the degree of efficiency or inefficiency of the government (which is the stuff of day to day press political sloganeering, but need not concern us), the assessment, or budget, may be correct or incorrect. The Chancellor of the Exchequer may be "generous" or "niggardly", but according to his assessment, so is the national "cake", and so are our various "slices". Salaries and wages are determined by social convention, tradition, Government patronage, economic competition, hereditary influence, trade union bargaining, individual enterprise and wildcat strikes, changing of jobs, and by various other means. According to their effectiveness, so is the "slice" of cake each receives. The cake is, of course, the same.

In time of war, under "fair" rationing", such a system need not apply. In the second world war, we had "fair rations", under which everyone, no matter what his income, received only so many coupons for meat, reckoned by weight. This was because it had been decided that meat should be shared equally, irrespective of income. The coupons had no value in themselves. Today they are only souvenirs in Carnaby Street. Then, they were highly important.

Many communal products are equally available to all, either on payment of a fixed sum, or free. The highways are free; it would probably make no economic difference if the underground railway was also free, bearing in mind the cost of ticket collecting. We pay water rates, but may draw as much as we like (it is rationed in the Sahara and may be costly).

A FREE SOCIETY would vastly extend the range of communal products that would be free. It might be that some products were in short supply and would have to be rationed by some means. It could be by "labour value" tickets (an hour's work per ticket, as a means of exchange) as suggested by the collectivists; it could be by ordinary "fair rationing" in the case of many items, food included; it might be that some means of exchange, similar to money but not based upon the wages system which immediately brings equality, might be used. We cannot lay down economic laws for a future free society. The authoritarian economist can do so ("so long as I, or my party, are in power, the Pound Sterling will be worth 100 new pence"); the libertarian can only make such statements as "if you have inequality, you must have a privileged class and government" — not because the must is his dictum, but because it is something that follows logically (just as does the statement that if there are 100 new pence in the pound there will be four lots of 25 new pence, whatever you might call them).

A free society is not exactly an anarchist society, and far from being a perfect society (utopia) if the latter is possible. It is a society free from repressive institutions. Only in such a society can we build up anarchism. The UTOPIAN SOCIETY is one on which we should aim our sights. That is the direction in which we should be moving, and the criterion by which we justify

our success and failure. No anarchist seriously expects that one Monday morning he will read that capitalism has been abolished and that the State will fall before Tuesday when the rent-collector is due. Nor does he accept the Marxist-Leninist argument that there is needed a "transitory stage" in which the State and bureaucracy must be strengthened, beyond all previous extent, so that it may wither away when unnecessary (as if any bureaucrat would ever find he was unnecessary). Transition is the period through which we are moving: the State will be superseded as the places of work are occupied (and re-started under self-management) and as free organisms replace direction from above.

Even the fascist has his utopia, a militarised society divided into class and racial strata. While he may never achieve it, his actions are determined by his vision of what he wants. The same applies to all who are not entirely deluded (in that they want one thing as a future utopia but entirely different actions are undertaken meanwhile; they perhaps peace "but prepare for war"). Even if the anarchist does not succeed within his lifetime, he does, to the extent that he is successful, modify society, mitigate tyranny, reform some evils.

The Employers do not give work

Since the first Enoch Powell speech, many have by accepting his exploitation of racial differences, also accepted his anti-socialism. "Send the blacks home," they say, basically because they are afraid of the unknown and don't wish to know more; then they try to justify this. "They are taking our jobs" etc. Work is not something, however, that is given by the employer. He may have the legal right to distribute work, but only because a demand for it has been made. *The wealth of the country is due to the workers.* The immigrants help to contribute to it (it is the emigrants who do not, but nobody objects to them!) It may be that in some technological society of the future, run by the State, in a sort of boss utopia, the working class will be displaced as a productive force. But this has not yet come about. It may be that technology will reduce us, as a productive class, to mere turners of switches and openers of the scientists' car-doors; to secretaries and receptionists; to janitors and clerks. Insofar as that happens, we must smash that society. Those who revolt against ALIENATION see the signs already.

Objections to Anarchism

Whenever one attacks present day society, one senses the fears and prejudices of the average audience. They know that society is a jungle today, but do not like to admit it. Once one speaks of anarchism they bring forward objections which are, in fact, criticisms of present-day society, but which they think of as objections to a free society of the future.

They fear murder, rape, robbery, violent attack — if there were no government to prevent it. And yet we all know the government cannot prevent it. (Read the "News of the World"!) It can only punish where it finds it out, while its own methods of repressive action causes far more damage. The "cure" is worse than the disease. "What would you do without a police force?" — Society would never tolerate the murderer at large, whether it had a police force or not. The institutionalisation of a body to look after crime means not only that it "looks after" (and nourishes) crime, but that the rest of society feels itself absolved. A murder next door is the State's business, not mine! Responsibility for one's neighbour is reduced in an authoritarian society, which wishes to be solely responsible for our behaviour.

"Who will do the dirty work?" — This is a question society has to ask itself, not merely

the anarchist society. There are dirty jobs which are socially unacceptable and poorly paid, and nobody wants to do them. People are therefore forced to do them (by slavery); or there is competition and the jobs become better paid (and therefore socially acceptable); or there is conscription for such jobs; or (as in England today) the capitalist introduces immigration, thus putting off the problem for a generation or two, or the jobs don't get done (the street gutters aren't swept any more and we get deluged with water shooting out from cars driven by graduate psychologists). Only a clairvoyant could tell what an anarchist society would do; it is plain to all of us what it could not do (use force, since it would lack the repressive machinery). The question implies a criticism of prosperity and freedom, which bring problems in their train.

"If the Anarchists do not seize power, and have superseded other forms of socialism that would, they objectively make way for fascism." There is really only one answer to dictatorship, and that is by the personal removal of the dictator. Anyone will seize power if given the opportunity; but if the seat is hot enough they might try to desist. We do not want to see a privileged class, and cannot put forward any claim that we would make a better privileged degree of leadership than any other.

Leadership

This is often a vexed question: do anarchists believe in leadership or not? Obviously not, because the leadership principle leads to the elite party, and the elite party to government. Yet for all that, there is such a thing as leadership. Some people, in some circumstances, do naturally "give a lead". But this should not mean they are a class apart. Any revolutionary, in a factory where the majority have no revolutionary experience, will at times "give a lead". But no anarchist would form an INSTITUTIONALISED LEADERSHIP. Neither too should he wait for a lead, but give one

Can public opinion itself be of an authoritarian nature?

Most certainly. Even in a free society? Certainly. But this is not an argument against a free society. There might well be, in a society controlled economically by the producers, prejudice against some minorities, for instance. But there would be no means of codifying prejudice, no repressive machinery against non-conformists. Only within a free society can public opinion become superior to its prejudices. The majority is not automatically right. The manipulation of the idea of a majority is part of the government technique.

Unity

One last objection is made against Anarchism, usually by those about to "come over". Why disunity in the ranks of those who take up a similar position on many stands? Why cannot we be all one libertarian left? Why any division at all?

Insofar as we form councils of action — workers industrial councils — even social groups based upon radical activity — we can be united with others of the libertarian left, or indeed (in the case of workers' councils) with people of reformist or reactionary points of view. The expression of our anarchist opinions does not make us hermits. We still mix within society with people of all opinions and none. Anarchist groups need to keep alive their individual identity, but only a party machine could keep us from "speaking to outsiders".

Albert Meltzer

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OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM

THE MARXIST-LENINIST CRITIQUE OF ANARCHISM

It is very difficult for Marxist-Leninists to make an objective criticism of Anarchism, as such, because by its nature it undermines all the suppositions basic to Marxism. If Marxism is held out to be indeed *the* basic working class philosophy, and the proletariat cannot owe its emancipation

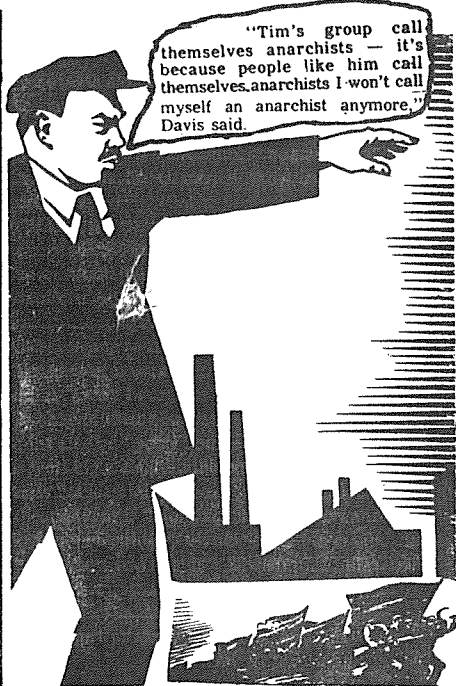
to anyone else but itself, it is hard to go back on it and say that the working class is not yet ready to dispense with authority placed over it. Marxism, therefore, normally tries to refrain from criticising anarchism as such — unless driven to doing so, when it exposes its own authoritarianism (“how can the workers run the railways, for instance, without direction — that is to say, without authority?”) and concentrates its attack not on *anarchism*, but on *anarchists*.

It has — whether one agrees with it or not — a valid criticism of the anarchists in asking how one can (now) dispense with political action — or whether one *should* throw away so vital a weapon. But this criticism varies between the schools of Marxism, since some have used it to justify complete participation in the whole capitalist power

structure; while others talk vaguely only of “using parliament as a platform”. Lenin recognised the shortcomings of Marxism in this respect and insisted that the anarchist workers could not be criticised for rejecting so philistine a Marxism that it used political participation for its own sake and expected the capitalist state to let itself be voted out of existence peacefully. He therefore concentrated on another aspect, which Marx pioneered, viz. criticism of particular anarchists; and this has dominated all Leninist thinking ever since.

Because of the lack of any other criticism of the Anarchists, Leninists — especially trotskyists — to this day use the *personal criticism* method. But as Lenin selected only a few well-known personalities who for a few years fell short of the ideals they preached, the latter-day Leninists have to hold that all anarchists are responsible for everyone who calls himself or herself an anarchist — or even (such as the Russian Social Revolutionaries) were only called such (if indeed so) by others. They, however, are responsible only for fully paid up members of their own party.

Someone pointed out to me a new Leninist body called “World Revolution” which was carrying out a “criticism” of both trotskyists and anarchists. It had the same weary old trotskyist arguments against anarchists — making them responsible for any and every so-called anarchist — but they themselves could not take responsibility for anyone outside their own group of unknown students numbering a dozen at most. You could repeat this method over and over again.



This wrinkle in Leninism has produced another criticism of anarchism (usually confined to trots and maoists): anarchists are responsible not only for all referred to as anarchists, but for all workers influenced by anarchist ideas. The C.N.T. is always quoted here, but significantly its whole history before and after the civil war is never mentioned; solely the period of participation in the government. For this, the anarchists must forever accept responsibility! But the trots may back the reformist union U.G.T. without accepting any responsibility for any period in its entire history. In all countries (if workers) they presumably join or (if students) accept, the reformist trade unions. That is alright. But a revolutionary trade union must forever be condemned for any one deviation. Moreover, if broken, it must never be rebuilt; the reformist union must be rebuilt in preference. This is the logical consequence of all trot thinking on Spain or other countries where such unions exist, proving their preference for reformist trade unionism (because of the reformist unions negative character which lends itself to a leadership they may capture; as against a decentralised union which a leadership cannot capture).

Petty Bourgeois

Notwithstanding this preference for non-revolutionary unions, and condemnation of the anarchists for unions built from the bottom up, all Marxist-Leninists have a seemingly contradictory criticism of anarchists, namely "they are petty bourgeois".

This leads them into another difficulty: How can one reconcile the existence of anarcho-syndicalist unions with "petty bourgeois" origins - and how does one get over the fact that most Marxist-Leninists today are professional gentlemen studying for or belonging to the conservative professions? The answer is usually given that because anarchism is "petty bourgeois" those embracing it - "whatever their occupation or social origins" must also be "petty bourgeois"; because Marxism is working class, its adherents must be working-class "at least subjectively". This is a sociological absurdity, as if "working class" meant an ideological viewpoint. It is also a built-in escape clause.

Yet Marx was not such a fool as his followers. "Petty bourgeois" in his day did not mean a solicitor, an accountant, a factory manager, sociologist or anything of that sort (they were

"bourgeois" - the term *small* it was, "petit", not "petty" that qualified the adjective - meant precisely that these were not the same as bourgeois). The small burgher was one who had less privileges, economically, than the wealthy - but had some privileges by virtue of his craft. Anarchism, said Marx, was a movement of the *artisan worker* - that is to say, the self-employed craftsman with some leisure to think and talk, not subject to factory hours and discipline, independently minded and difficult to threaten, not backward like the peasantry. In England, these people tended to become Radicals, perhaps because the State was less oppressive and less obviously unnecessary. In many countries, however, they were much more extreme in their radicalism and in the Swiss Jura, the clockmakers, anarchism prospered. It spread to Paris - and the Paris Commune was above all a rising of artisans who had been reduced to penury by Napoleon III and his war. As the capitalist technique spread throughout the world, the artisans were ruined and driven into the factories. It is these individual craftsmen entering industrialisation who become anarchists, pointed out successive Marxists. They are not conditioned to factory discipline which produces good order, a proletariat prepared to accept a leadership and a party, and to work forever in the factory provided it comes under State control.

That this observation was true is seen by the crushing of the communes in Paris and in Spain and throughout the world, especially in places like Italy, in the Jewish pale of settlement in Russia, and so on. It should be the task of an anarchist union movement to seize the factories, but only in order to break down mass production and get back to craftsmanship. This is what Marx meant by a "petty bourgeois" outlook, and the term having changed its meaning totally, the Marxists misunderstand him totally.

Vanguards

The reluctance of Marxist-Leninists to accept change is, however, above all seen in the acceptance of Lenin's conception of the Party. (It is not that of Marx). Lenin saw that Russia was a huge mass of inertia, with a peasantry that would not budge but took all its suffering with an Asiatic patience. He looked to the "proletariat" to push it. But the "proletariat" was only a small part of the Russia of his day. Still he recognised it as the one class with an interest in progress - provided he felt it had a direction - of shrewd, calculating, ruthless and highly educated people (who could only come from the upper classes in the Russia of the time). The party they created should become, as much as possible, the party of the proletariat in which that class could

organise and seize power. It had then the right and the duty to wipe out all other parties.

The idiocy of applying this policy today - in a country like Britain - is incredible. One has only to look at the parties which offer themselves as the various parties of the proletariat (of which, incidentally, there could be only one). Compare them with the people around. The parties' membership are far behind in political intelligence and understanding. They are largely composed of shallow, inexperienced, youthful enthusiasts who understand far less about class struggle than the average worker.

Having translated the Russian Revolution into a mythology which places great stress on the qualities possessed by its leadership, they then pretend to possess that leadership charisma. But as they don't have it there is a total divorce between the working class and the so-called New Left, which has, therefore, to cover itself up with long-winded phrases in the hope that this will pass for learning; in the wider "Movement" with definitions at second-hand from Marxist-Leninism they scratch around to find someone really as backward and dispossessed as the *moujik*, and fall back on the "Third World" mythology...

The one criticism applied by Marxist-Leninists of anarchism with any serious claim to be considered is, therefore, solely that of whether political action should be considered or not. This is a purely negative attitude by anarchists. Wherever anarchists have undertaken it, because of circumstances, it has ended in disaster and betrayal of the revolutionary movement much as when Marxists have undertaken it.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC CRITIQUE OF ANARCHISM

The early socialists did not understand that there would be necessarily a difference between anarchism and socialism. Both were socialists, but whereas the latter hoped to achieve socialism by parliamentary means, the latter felt that revolutionary means were necessary. As a result many early anarchist and socialist groups (especially in Britain) were interchangeable in working class membership. Something might come from political action; something by industrial methods; the revolution had to be fought as soon as possible; the one therefore was complementary to the other though it was recognised that they might have to follow separate paths.

This, however, changed because the face of socialism changed. It dropped its libertarian ideas for Statism. "Socialism" gradually came to mean State control of everything and therefore, so far from being another face of anarchism, was its direct opposite. From saying originally that "the

VOICES OF THE REVOLUTION

CLIP & SAVE. Read nightly.

We must affirm anew the discipline of the Party, namely:

- (1) the individual is subordinate to the organization;
 - (2) the minority is subordinate to the majority;
 - (3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and
 - (4) the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.
- Whoever violates these articles of discipline disrupts Party unity.

--Mao Tse-tung, "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party," October, 1938



anarchists were too impatient", therefore, the parliamentary socialists turned to a criticism of the anarchists levelled at them by people who had no desire to change society at all, whether sooner or later. They picked up what is essentially the conservative criticism of anarchism: which is essentially that the State is the arbiter of all legality and the present economic order is the only established legal order. A stateless society – or even its advocacy – is criminal of itself! (To this day, a police constable in court – or a journalist – will, for this reason, refer to anarchism as if it were self-evidently criminal).

Most upholders of any parliamentary system deliberately confuse it with democracy – as an ideal system of equal representation – as if it already existed. Thus ultra-parliamentarism is "undemocratic" and even the elementary exercise of industrial bargaining can be held to be "undemocratic" – as if a few hundred men and a few dozen women selected at random alone had the right of exercising control over the rest of the country.

Since the Russianisation of "Communism", turning it away from both parliamentarism and democracy, it has suited the social-democrat to speak of criticism from the revolutionary side as being necessarily from those wanting dictatorship. The anarchists, who can hardly be accused of dictatorship – except by politically illiterate journalists who do not understand the differences between parties, must therefore be "criminal" and whole labour movements have been so stigmatised by the Second International. This has been picked up by the U.S. Government with its "criminal syndicalism" legislation which is similar to that in more openly fascist countries.

No more than the Marxist-Leninists, the Social-Democrats are unable to state that their real objection to Anarchism is the fact that it is against power and privilege and so undermines their whole case. They bring up, if challenged, the objection that it is "impossible". If "impossible", what have they to fear from it? Why – in countries like Spain and Portugal, where the only chance of resisting Communist tyranny is the Anarchist Movement – do Social-Democrats prefer to help the Communist Party? In Spain up to the appearance of a Socialist Party when it was politically profitable the British Labour Party helped the communist-led factions but will do nothing for the anarchists.

Dictatorship of the proletariat is "possible" – only too much so. When it comes it will sweep the socialists away. But if the anarchists resist, the socialists will at least survive to put forward their alternative. They fear only the consequences of that alternative being decisively rejected – for who would choose State Socialism out of the ash-can for nothing if they could have Stateless Socialism instead?

In the capitalist world, the social-democrat objects to revolutionary methods, the "impatience" and alleged "criminality" of the anarchists. But in the communist world, social-democracy is by the same conservative token equally "criminal", indeed more so, since it presumably postulated connection with enemy powers. The charge of "impatience" can hardly be levelled since there is no way of effecting a change legally; and the whole idea of change by parliamentary methods is a farce. Social-democracy, in the face of Marxist Leninism, gives up the fight without hope. It has nothing to offer. There can be no change from Fascism to Social-Democracy because no constitutional methods offer themselves – but at least in that case, they could in the past rely on foreign support changing the system. Their interpretation of socialism apparently forbids them to take this view in regard to the Soviet

Union and its satellites. They have no ideas on how to change. They hope that nationalists and religious dissidents will put through a bit of liberalism that will ease the pressure. Yet anarchism offers a revolutionary attack upon the communist countries that is not only rejected by the social democrats; in power, they unite with other capitalist powers to harass and suppress that attack.

THE LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC OBJECTION TO ANARCHISM

Liberal-Democracy is afraid to make direct criticisms of anarchism because to do so undermines the whole reasoning of liberal democracy. It therefore resorts to falsification: anarchists are equated with Marxists (and thereby the whole Marxist criticism of anarchism ignored). The most frequent target of attack is to suggest that Anarchism is some form of Marxism plus violence, or some extreme form of Marxism.

The reason liberal democracy has no defence to offer against real anarchist argument is because liberal democracy is using it as its apologia in the defence of "freedom" yet circumscribing walls around it. It pretends that parliamentarism is some form of democracy, but though sometimes prepared to admit (under pressure) that parliamentarism is no form of democracy at all, occasionally seeks to find ways of further democratising it. The undoubtedly dictatorial process that a few people, once elected, by fair means or foul, have a right to make decisions for the majority, is covered up by a defence of the Constitutional Rights or even the individual liberty, of those members of Parliament. . . Burke's dictum that they are representatives, not delegates, is quoted ad nauseum (as if this reactionary politician had bound the British people for ever, though he, as he is self-admitted, did not seek to ask their opinions on the matter once).

Liberal economics are almost as dead as the Dodo. What rules is either the monopoly of the big firms or of the State. Yet laissez faire economics remain embodied aspirations of the Tory Party which they never implement. They object to the intervention of the State in business. But they never care to carry the spirit of competition too far. Enoch Powell commented on the fact that there was no logical reason why there should be any restriction on the movement of currency and this is good Tory policy (though never implemented! Not until the crisis is over!) Why should we not be able to deal in gold pieces or U.S. dollars or Maria Theresa thalers or francs or Deutschmarks or even devalued Deutschmarks? The pound sterling would soon find its own level, and if it were devalued, so much the worse for it. But why stop there? If we can choose any currency we like free socialism could co-exist with capitalism and it would drive capitalism out.

State socialism can co-exist with capitalism as long as the State gives a place to the existence of capitalism (it drives it out in Russia, allows a small place in other Communist countries).

But once free socialism competes with capitalism – as it would if we could choose to ignore the State's symbolic money and deal in one of our own choosing which reflected real work values – who would choose to be exploited? Quite clearly no laissez-faire economist who had to combine his role with that of party politician (and therefore practical man) would allow things to go that far. All Powell was doing was contrasting State intervention with non-intervention. He had no intention of letting the State go by default. Indeed, as a politician (if not exactly a party one, or if so, it is hard to say which one) he is for State repression of the most direct and brutal kind.

Liberal democracy picks up one of the normal arguments against anarchism which begin on the right wing; namely it begins with the objections against socialism – that is Statism – but if there is an anti-Statist socialism that is in fact more liberal than itself, then it is "criminal". If it is not, then it seeks law to make it so.

This argument is in fact beneath contempt, yet it is one which influences the press, police and judiciary to a surprising extent. But in fact anarchism as such (as distinct from specific anarchist organisations) could never be illegal, because no laws can make people love the State. It is only done by false ideals, such as describing the State as a "country".

The fact is that liberal democracy seldom voices any arguments against anarchism as such – other than relying upon prejudice – because its objections are purely authoritarian, and unmask the innate Statism and authoritarianism of liberalism. Nowadays conservatives like to appropriate the name "libertarian" to describe themselves as if they were more receptive to freedom than socialists. But their libertarianism is confined to keeping the State out of interfering in their business affairs. Once anarchism makes it plain that it is possible to have both social



justice and to dispense with the State they are shown in their true colours. Their arguments against State Socialism and Communism may sound "libertarian", but their arguments against Anarchism reveal that they are essentially authoritarian. That is why they prefer to rely upon innuendo, slanders, and false reporting, which is part and parcel of the Establishment anti-anarchism, faithfully supported by the media.

THE FASCIST OBJECTION TO ANARCHISM

The fascist objection to anarchism is, curiously enough, more honest than that of the Marxist, the Liberal or the Social Democrat. Most of these will say – if pressed – that Anarchism is an ideal, perhaps imperfectly understood, but either impossible of achievement or possible only in a distant future. The Fascist, on the contrary, admits its possibility; what is denied is its desirability.

The right wing authoritarian (which term includes many beyond those naming themselves fascists) worships the very things which are anathema to Anarchists, especially the State. Though the conception of the State is idealised in fascist theory, it is not denied that one could do without it. But the "first duty of the citizen is to defend the State" and it is high treason to oppose it or advocate its abolition.

Sometimes the State is disguised as the "corpor-

ate people" or "the nation" giving a mystic idea of the State beyond the mere bureaucratic apparatus of rule. The forces of militarism and oppression are idealised (after the German Emperor who said that universal peace was "only a dream — not even a good dream.") Running throughout right wing patriotism is a mystical feeling about the "country", but though Nazis in particular sometimes have recourse to an idealisation of the "people" (this has more of a racial than a popular connotation in German) — it is really the *actual soil* which seems to be held sacred, thus taking the State myth to its logical conclusion. For the Anarchist this, of course, nonsense. The nonsense can be seen in its starkest form with the followers of Franco who have killed off so many Spaniards, hanker for the barren rock of Gibraltar; especially in General Millan de Astray who wanted to kill off "bad Spaniards" and eradicate Catalans and Basques — in the name of unitary Spain (thus, as Unamuno pointed out, making Spain as "one-armed and one-eyed" as the notorious General was himself).

Anarchism is clearly seen by Fascists as a direct menace and not a purely philosophic one. It is not merely the direct action of Anarchists but the thing itself which represents the evil (the media is just getting round to picking up these strands in fascist thinking, ironing them out nicely, and presenting them in the "news" stories). Hitler regarded the authoritarian state he had built as millennial (the thousand year state) but he knew it could be dismembered and rejected. His constant theme was the danger of this, and while he concentrated (for political reasons) attacks on a totalitarian rival, State Communism (since Russia presented a military menace), his attacks on "cosmopolitanism" have the re-iterated theme of anti-anarchism.

"Cosmopolitanism" and "Statelessness" was one of the "crimes" with which he associated Jews (as indeed does the totalitarian communism of Russia), though plainly since his day large numbers of them have reverted to nationalism and a strong state. The theme of "Jewish domination" goes hand in hand with "anarchistic destruction of authority, morals and discipline", since for him personal freedom was bad in itself. (Only national freedom is permissible). Insofar as one can make sense of his speeches (which are sometimes deceptive since he follows different strands of thought according to the way he could sway an audience), he believes "plunging into anarchy" of a country (abolition of State restraints) will lead to chaos, which will make it possible for a dictatorship other than one in the people's interests to succeed.

This Nazi propaganda is echoed by the media today "plunging the country into anarchy would be followed by a Communist or extreme right-wing dictatorship" — which is taken from a current newspaper leader, and echoed almost

daily.

Hitler did not confuse State Communism with anarchism (as Franco did deliberately, for propaganda purposes, to try to eradicate anarchism from history). He equates communism with "Jewish domination" and the case against the Jews (in original Nazi thinking) that they are a racially pure people who will gain world conquest over helots like the Germans if a "Master Race" does not control the Germans and keep the rival State out. In a condition of freedom the German "helots" would revert to anarchy, just as the racially "inferior" Celts of France threw out the Norman Nordic overlords (the Houston Chamberlain version of the French Revolution). Later, of course, when Nazism became a mass party it was expedient to amend this to saying the *Germans* were the Master Race, but this was not the original Nazi philosophy nor was it privately accepted by the Nazi leaders ("the German people were not worthy of me.") But they could hardly tell mass meetings that they were all "helots".

To sum up the fascist objection to Anarchism: it is not denied the abolition of the State can come about, but if so, given economic, social and political freedom, the "helots"; — who are "naturally inclined" to accept subjection from superior races — will seek for masters. They will have a nostalgia for "strong rule".

In Nazi thinking, strong rule can only come from racially pure members of the "Master Race" (something a little more than a class and less than a people), which can be constructive masters (i.e. the "Aryans"), or a race which has had no contact with the "soil" and will be thus destructive. (This identification of the Jews would have to be completely revised in light of present day Israel).

In other types of Fascist thinking, given freedom, the people will throw off all patriotic and nationalistic allegiances and so the "country" will cease to be great. This is the basis of Mussolini's fascism, and of course, it is perfectly true, bearing in mind that "the country" is his synonym for the State and his only conception of greatness is militaristic. The frankest of all is the Spanish type of fascism which sought to impose class domination of the most brutal kind and made it plain that its opposition to anarchism was simply in order to keep the working class down; if necessary, the working class may be decimated in order to crush anarchism.

It is true of all political philosophies and blatant with the fascist one that its relationship to anarchism throws a clear light upon itself.

THE AVERAGE PERSON'S OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM

Generally speaking the ordinary people pick up their objections to anarchism from the press, which in turn is influenced by what the Establishment want. At present, in this country there is

a definite ruling on transcribing Anarchism and Marxism, or Anarchism and Nationalism, so that the one must be referred to the other, in order to confuse. This has been borne out in many exposures in *Black Flag* showing where avowed Marxists are described in the Press as "anarchists" while avowed Anarchists are described as "Marxists" or "Nationalists" (the latter usually in Catalonia and sometimes in Euzkadi). On some occasions Nationalists are called "anarchists" but usually when the word "anarchist" is being used as if to describe oneself as an anarchist was to make a confession of guilt. This, as we have seen, is picked up from the liberal-democratic attitude to anarchism; but it is flavoured strongly with the fascist attitude too. Because of it, the phrase "self-confessed anarchist" has to be used by the Press to describe a person who is an anarchist as opposed to someone whom they have merely labelled anarchist in order to confuse.

Generally, therefore, the average person takes the fascist view of anarchism, as picked up in its entirety by police officers and others, as genuine; but tempered with the fact that they do not take it quite as seriously. Sometimes they confuse the word "revolutionary", and assume all who protest are thereby anarchists. This ignorance, however, is more often displayed by journalists than it is by the general public.

When it comes down to an objection to anarchism as it is as distinct from objections to a mythological anarchism as imagined or caricatured by the authoritarian parties or Establishment, there are not many serious objections from the general public. They may not think it practical of realisation if presented in a positive way to them; but they usually do so if presented in a negative way — i.e. describing the tyranny of the State, the fact that we could dispense with authoritarian parties, the worthlessness of politicians, and so on. The sole main objection is perhaps the feeling that they want to make the best out of life as it is; that they do not feel strong enough to challenge the State or to face the struggle involved in bringing about a free society, or put up with the many vicissitudes, major and minor, that make up the life of a militant or someone reasonably committed to an ideal. The temptations to conform and to accept the bribes which the capitalist class can now hold out are too great; only when the State wants its last ounce of blood do they wake up to the need for resistance, but then it is too late, and also, of course, the State then takes on the pretence of being "the country" in order to be loved instead of hated or disliked. When the State clearly goes against "the country" they do tend to rebel.

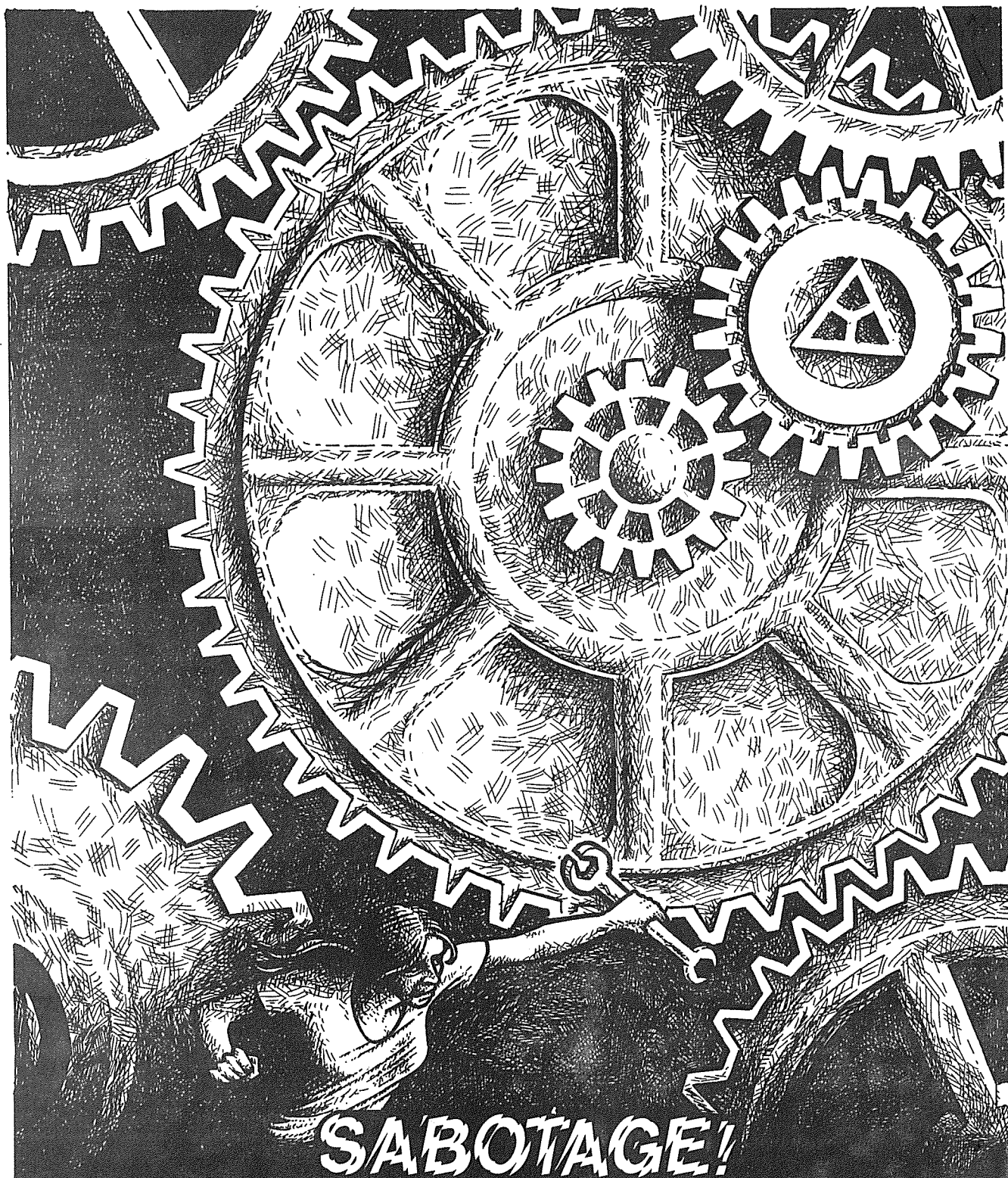
These attitudes of the people as a whole cannot be lightly dismissed; if they could be, there would be no problem of a free society; when they can be, we shall be well on the way to it.

Albert Meltzer

KLEIN REICH EGO EUNNIES

SPECIAL ORIGIN STRIP!!
V.I. OULANOFF -
MILD-MANNERED
WRITER-JOURNALIST,
FAMEY MAN,
AT THE MENTION
OF THE WORD
'OPPRESSION'
IS TRANSFORMED
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ON-THE-
PROFESSIONAL
REVOLUTIONARY
AND AGENT OF
THE THIRD
INTERNATIONAL.





SABOTAGE!

The Industrial Workers of the World began using the words "Sabotage", "Direct Action" and "Passive Resistance" in 1910 – five years after its formation, – in reference to a number of strikes, picket line fights and production line fixing to assist strikers. In 1912-13 "Sabotage" occurred in reprints of French CGT articles and the review of Pouget's work "Sabotage" which appeared in the IWW press.

The IWW Spokane Washington group published the following article by Walker C. Smith in 1912 and it was advertised the same year in *Solidarity*, the Cleveland and Chicago IWW paper, and *Industrial Worker*, the West Coast paper. In 1915 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn published a book on the subject in Cleveland and in Los Angeles the IWW published a paper

called "*The Wooden Shoe*".

However, the official policy of the IWW was *not* to use the term, or if they did to explain it. Big Bill Haywood: "Sabotage means to bend back or break off the fangs of capitalism." In the big treason trials of 1918-19, the "Red Scare" of 1919-20 and the "Criminal Syndicalism" trials of IWW rank-and-file militants by local state courts between 1917 and 1924 "Sabotage" was the main charge brought against the men which sent them to prison for periods usually not less than twenty years and, in many cases led to Wobs being lynched by mobs. However, the most important proponents of sabotage were the Australian IWW who were destroyed following the 1915-16 "Treason Trials".

No theory, no philosophy, no line of action is so good as claimed by its advocates nor so bad as painted by its critics. Sabotage is no exception to this rule. Sabotage, according to the capitalists and political socialists, is synonymous with murder, rapine, arson, theft; is illogical, vile, unethical, reactionary, destructive of society itself. To many anarchist theorists it is the main weapon of industrial warfare, over-shadowing mass solidarity, industrial formation and disciplined action. Some even go so far as to claim that sabotage can usher in the new social order. Somewhere in between these two extreme views can be found the truth about sabotage.

Three versions are given of the source of the word. The one best known is that of the striking French weaver who cast his wooden shoe

called a sabot — into the delicate mechanism of the loom upon leaving the mill. The confusion that resulted, acting to the workers' benefit, brought to the front a line of tactics that took the name of *Sabotage*. Slow work is also said to be at the basis of the word, the idea being that wooden shoes are clumsy and so prevent quick action on the part of the workers. The third idea is that sabotage is coined from the slang term that means 'putting the boot' to the employers by striking directly at their profits without leaving the job. The derivation, however, is unimportant. It is the thing itself that causes commotion among employers and politicians alike. What then is Sabotage?

Sabotage is the destruction of profits to gain a definite, revolutionary, economic end. It has many forms. It may mean the damaging of raw materials destined for a scab factory or shop. It may mean the spoiling of a finished product. It may mean the displacement of parts of machinery, or the disarrangement of the whole machine where that machine is the one upon which other machines are dependent for materials. It may mean working slow. It may mean poor work. It may mean mis-labelling packages, giving overweight to customers, pointing out defects in goods, using the best of materials where the employer desires adulteration and also the telling of trade secrets. In fact, it has as many variations as there are different lines of work.

Note this important point however. *Sabotage does not seek nor desire to take human life.* Neither is it directed against the consumer except where wide publicity has been given to the fact that the sabotaged product is under the ban. *A boycotted product is at all times a fit product for sabotage.* The aim is to hit the employer in his vital spot, his heart and soul, in other words his wallet. The consumer is struck only when he interposes himself between the two combatants.

On the other hand, sabotage is simply one of the weapons in labour's arsenal. It is by no means the greatest one. Solidarity action is mightier than the courageous acts of a few. Industrial class formation gives a strength not to be obtained by mere tactics. Self-discipline and co-operative action are necessary if we are to build a new social order as well as destroying the old. Sabotage is merely a means to an end; a means that under certain conditions might be dispensed with and the end still gained.

Sabotage will sometimes be misused, flagrantly so; the same is true of every one of the weapons of labour. The main concern of revolutionists is whether the use of sabotage will destroy the power of the masters in such a manner as to give the workers a greater measure of industrial control. On that point depends its usefulness to the working class.

Sabotage is not a form of action brought forth from French conditions. It dates back to the earliest days of human exploitation. It is born of class struggles — of man's inhumanity to man. From serfdom to wage slavery the enslaved class has instinctively tried to render less to the master than was expected of it. This unconscious sabotage shows the irreconcilable antagonism between capitalist and labourer — master and slave.

Sabotage was not formally baptised as a word to describe a formula of social struggle until the end of the Confederal Congress of Toulouse in 1897. Open advocacy of the idea and conscious sabotage in place of instinctive action began in France about this time. It had been preached in England and Scotland for many years before that, under the name of 'ca' canny'. This phrase meant 'go slow', or to be more literal, 'don't

hurry up'. From a publication, 'The Social Museum', an instance is gained of the use of sabotage by the Scottish.

"In 1889 the organised dockers of Glasgow demanded a 10% increase of wages, but met with the refusal of the employers. Strike breakers were brought in from among the agricultural labourers and the dockers had to acknowledge defeat and return to work on the old wage scale. But before the men resumed their work, the secretary of the union delivered the following address to them:

"You are going back to work at the old wage. The employers have repeated time and time again that they were delighted with the work of the agricultural labourers who had taken our places for several weeks during the strike. But we have seen them at work; we have seen that they could not even walk a vessel, that they dropped half the merchandise they carried, in short, that two of them could hardly do the work of one of us. Nevertheless, the employers have declared themselves enchanted by the work of these fellows; well then, there is nothing left for us but to do the same, and to practise Ca' Canny. Work as the agricultural labourers worked. Only they often fell in the water; it is useless for you to do the same."

"This order was obeyed to the letter. After a few days the contractors sent for the general secretary of the dockers and begged him to tell the dockers to work as before, and that they were ready to grant the 10% increase."

Balzac, writing three-quarters of a century ago, gave a good illustration of sabotage in describing the bloody uprising in Lyons in 1831.

"There have been many things said about the uprising of Lyons, of the republic cannonaded in the streets, but no one has told the truth. The republic seized the movement as an insurgent seizes a rifle.

The commerce of Lyons is a commerce without courage; as soon as an ounce of silk is manufactured it is asked for and payment is made at once. When the demand stops, the workers are dying of starvation; when they are working they earn barely enough to live upon. The prisoners are often more happy than they.

After the July revolution misery reached the point where the workers were compelled to raise a standard: 'Bread or Death!' — a standard which the government should have considered.

The republicans had felt out the revolt and they organised the spinners who fought in double shifts. Lyons had its three days. Then everything became normal again and the poor went back to their dog kennels.

The spinners who had, until then, transformed into useful goods the silk which was weighed to them in cocoons, laid aside probity. They began to grease their fingers with oil. With scrupulous ability they rendered the correct weight, but the silks were all specked with oil. The commerce of the silk manufactures was infested with greasy goods which caused a loss to Lyons and to a portion of the French commerce."

This action, as Balzac points out, was nothing more than the workers taking revenge for having been the victims of bayonets when they asked for bread. But sabotage is something more than simply the equivalent of an oppression received; it has an economic foundation.

There exists today a labour market in which the wage workers sell their power to perform various tasks asked of them by the purchasers — the employing class. The labour power of the workers is a commodity. In selling their merchandise the workers must sell themselves along with it. Therefore they are slaves — wage slaves. In purchasing goods from a merchant one receives inferior quality for a low price. For a low price — poor products. If this applies to hats and shoes, why not equally to the product sold by the labourer? It is from this reasoning that there arises the idea: *For poor wages — bad work.* This thought is a natural one even to those who agree with society as it is now constituted. To those who do not look upon the wage system as a finality and who have come to regard the employers in their true light — as thieves of the labourer's product — the idea of sabotage commends itself even more strongly. It is a logical weapon for the revolutionist.

Economists have shown that the wages of the workers are not determined by their product. Wages are simply the market price of the commodity called *labour power*. Wages are not lowered or raised as the productivity of the worker ebbs and flows. They are conditional upon the supply and demand, the standard of living where the wages are paid, and the relative strength of the organisations of workers and employers. Not many wage workers have studied the deeper economists, but the ditch digger knows that when he has finished the ditch upon which he is at work he must hunt another master. He instinctively slows up. His action has value from a class standpoint, for either more ditch diggers must be employed to complete the work within a given time, or else there is less competition in the labour market for those extra days he laboured.

Many who condemn sabotage will be found to be unconscious advocates of it. Think of the absurd position of those who decry sabotage, and, almost in the same breath, condemn the various efficiency systems of the employers! By opposing "scientific management" they are doing to potential profits what the saboteurs are doing to actual profits. The one prevents efficiency, the other withdraws it. Incidentally, it might be said that sabotage is the only effective method of preventing the deterioration of the worker that is sure to follow for performing the same monotonous task minute after minute, day in and day out. Sabotage also offers the best method of combatting the evil known as 'speeding up'. None but the best workers know how great this evil is. It is one of the methods by which employers coin wealth from death, consuming the very lives of the toilers. By payment of a slightly higher wage to the stronger and more dexterous slave, the rest are forced to keep pace. Those who fall by the way are unceremoniously cast aside to beg, steal or starve. One method used by the saboteur to stop this form of slavery is illustrated by the following occurrence:

Building labourers were wheeling barrows of material to an electric hoist, following the rate of speed set by their higher paid taskmaster. The pace became so swift that those who were weaker could no longer keep up. During the lunch break one of the men stepped up to the wheelbarrow of the speeder and tightened the burrs on the wheel. Upon resuming the task master started at his usual pace but was soon obliged to slow down through sheer weariness. No class conscious worker will join the moralists and vote-catchers in condemning this action.

In the steel mills the speeding up process has become so distressing to the average workers that still greater steps are taken for self-protection. In fact, in speaking of these class traitors, it is often remarked that "something dropped on

their feet often affects their heads". There are many points of similarity between the favoured steer in the stockyards who is trained to lead the other steers into the killing pens, and the task-master.

England offers a practical method of limiting output. Due to effective, widespread, systematic sabotage, the brick masons lay as a days work less than one third the number of bricks required from their brother craftsmen in America. Any reduction in pay is met with a counter reduction in the work. Sabotage means therefore, that the workers directly fight the conditions imposed by the masters in accordance with the formula "Poor wages - bad work".

Actions which might be classed as "capitalist sabotage" are used by the different exploiting and professional classes. The market gardener packs his best fruit and vegetables on top. The merchant sells inferior articles as 'something just as good'. The doctor gives harmless concoctions where symptoms are puzzling. The builder uses poorer material than demanded in the specifications. The manufacturer adulterates foodstuffs and clothing. All these are for the purpose of gaining more profit. Carloads of potatoes were destroyed in Illinois recently; cotton was burned in the Southern states; coffee was destroyed by the Brazilian planters; bargeloads of onions were dumped overboard in California; apples are left to rot on the trees of whole orchards in Washington (and similarly were left in the orchards of Kent in the summer of 1970); and hundreds of tons of foodstuffs are held in cold storage until rendered unfit for consumption. All to raise prices. Yet it is exploiters of this character who are loudest in condemnation of sabotage when it is used to benefit the workers.

Some forms of capitalist sabotage are legalised, others are not. But whether or not the various practices are sanctioned by law, it is evident that they are more harmful to society as a whole than is the sabotage of the workers. Capitalists cause imperfect dams to be built, and devastating floods sweep whole sections of the country. They have faulty bridges erected, and wrecks cause great loss of life. They sell boat tickets, promising absolute security, and sabotage the life saving equipment to the point where hundreds are murdered, as witness the Titanic. The General Slocum disaster is an example of capitalist sabotage on the life preservers. The Iroquois Theatre fire is an example of sabotage by the exploiters who assured the public that the fire curtain was made of asbestos. There are also the Primero, the Drakesboro, the Cherry mine disasters and the terrible Triangle Shirtwaist tragedy. The cases could be multiplied indefinitely. Those capitalist murderers constitute themselves the mentors of the morals of those slaves who "have nothing to lose but their chains". Only fools will take their ethics from such knaves. *Capitalist opposition to sabotage is one of its highest recommendations.*

Capitalist sabotage aims to benefit a small group of non-producers, while working-class sabotage seeks to help the whole body of producers at the expense of the parasites. The frank position of the class conscious worker is that capitalist sabotage is wrong because it harms the workers; working class sabotage is right because it aids the workers. This view comes from the position the proletarians occupy in the class war. A word about that class war.

To the rebellious toiler the class war is no mere theory. It is a grim reality. To him it is not a polite sparring match according to Marquis of Queensbury rules with four years between each round. It is a love of liberty, and war against the exploiters.

Because the revolutionist has discarded the moral code of the master class and has spit in the face of bourgeois ethics, it does not necessarily follow that there is no rule regulating his conduct. He is, in fact, so strongly actuated by an ideal that he has left the arena of words to enter the realm of action. *Sabotage is a direct application of the idea that property has no rights that its creators are bound to respect.* Especially is this true when the creators of the wealth of the world are in hunger and want amid the abundance they have produced, while the idle few have all the good things of life.

However, secret must be sabotage, when used by the individual instead of the whole body, it is taking its place in the rising moral code of the propertyless toilers just in proportion as it is being openly advocated. The outspoken propaganda of sabotage and its widespread use are true reflections of economic conditions. The current ethical code with all existing laws and institutions, is based upon private property in production. *Why expect those who have no stake in society, as it is now constituted, to continue to contribute to its support?*

The charge that sabotage is immoral, unethical, uncivilised, and the like, does not worry the rebellious workers so long as it is effective in inflicting injury to the employers profits. As it aids the workers in their fight it will find increasing favour in their eyes. In war the strategic move is to cut off the opposing force from its base of supplies. Sabotage seeks to curtail profits and in conjunction with other weapons to abolish finally the surplus value, or unpaid labour, that is the source of the employer's power.

"You are immoral" cry employers and politicians alike. Our answer is that today all morals are based upon private property. Even so-called sexual immorality is condemned while universally practised, because it violates the principle of inheritance of property and is in defiance of customs generally accepted but seldom inquired into. When the workers accept their morals from the capitalist class they are in a sorry way indeed. The question is not: Is sabotage immoral? But does sabotage get the goods?

"You are destroying civilisation" is likewise hurled against us, to which we reply in the language of the street: "We should worry!" Civilisation is a lie. A civilisation that is built upon the bending backs of toiling babes; a civilisation that is reared upon the sweating, starving, struggling masses of mankind; a civilisation whose very existence depends upon a constant army of hungry, servile and law-abiding unemployed, is scarcely worthy of consideration at the hands of those whom it has so brutally outraged. The saboteur carries on his work in order to hasten the day of working class victory, when for the first time in history we shall have a civilisation that is worthy of the name.

What is more civilised than for the workers to create powder that refuses to explode?

What is more civilised than to spike the guns when they are trained on our working class brothers in other lands?

What is more civilised than to work slow and thus force employers to give a living to more of the unemployed?

What is more civilised than to waste the adulterations given the workers in place of food, thus making it unprofitable to sell impure products?

Sabotage will civilise the soldier, the police, the speeder, the slave driver, the food poisoner, the shoddy manufacturer, the profit grabber of high and low degree, and even the politician.

Those who oppose sabotage on ethical grounds are supporters of capitalist theft and are the faithful watchdogs of the strong boxes where

the masters store their stolen wealth. Revolutionists have no time to waste in taking lessons in correct manners from those who do no useful labour in society. In advocating sabotage we hope to show that the workers should rid their minds of the last remnant of bourgeois cant and hypocrisy and by its use develop courage and individual initiative. From sabotage to gain better conditions it is a logical step to direct sabotage against the repressive and perverting forces of capitalism.

The press is one of the greatest agencies used by the employers to keep the workers in subjection. It is dominated by the industrial masters. Sometimes the press is owned directly, sometimes through a mortgage or a secured loan. More often the subsidisation of the press is accomplished through advertising patronage. But at all times the power of the capitalist press depends upon the servility of the slaves who do all the work of setting up, printing and distributing the lies of the masters. Sabotage is the most effective weapon for the stopping of newspaper attacks upon the workers and their organisations.

Reporters are sometimes favourable to the workers. But they have to follow the policy of the paper to hold their jobs. They can use sabotage on the masters by their handling of the news. The editors of the various departments will colour the matter anyhow, in accordance with the wishes of advertisers or stockholders of the paper. But when an article is written that is harmful to the working class there are many ways in which it can be sabotaged. The linotype operator can misplace a portion of the copy. The proofreader can insert or remove the word 'not' and thus change a knock to a boost. The make-up man can place another article where it was intended the lie should go or he can insert a part of another article under the offending heading so that it will apparently read correctly and yet will not contain the harmful material. The stero typer can damage the face of the offending article so that it will not print. These are but a few of the many methods that might be used. All of these 'accidents' are happening every day in publishing plants and it but remains to direct them to a revolutionary end. With more class consciousness along these lines the employers will find it does not pay to lie about the workers.

One of the repressive forces of capitalism, the army, can be made useless by the extension of the use of sabotage. One saboteur can make harmless toys of the entire equipment of a company. When a trainload of soldiers are dispatched to a strike somewhere, where they always act in the interest of the employers, the train can be sabotaged. In Parma, Italy, for example, the farm labourers struck. Soldiers were ordered to the scene. The engineers refused to pull the train from the depot. Volunteers to man the engines were secured from the ranks of the soldiers. When these scabs entered the cab they found that some of the vital parts of each engine had been misplaced. They were forced to walk to Parma. Bridges disappeared in advance of the line of march. When the weary and disgusted soldiers arrived at the scene of the agricultural strike they found that the strikers had won and were back at work.

Realising that the railroads are the arteries of commerce the capitalists of this country have practically purchased the engineers by a high wage and the establishment of an aristocracy of labour. But a few rebels are bound to creep into their ranks. Even if every one of them remained a traitor to the workers by being loyal to the employers still they could not escape sabotage. A bar of soap in the boiler would keep the soldiers at home or else force them

to march to the strike. If this were not possible, then there are water tanks where the tender must be filled and the saboteur can "Let the Gold Dust Twins do the work".

In case of wars, which every intelligent worker knows are wholesale murder of workers to enrich the master class, there is no weapon so forceful to defeat the employers as sabotage by the rebellious workers in the two warring countries. *Sabotage will put a stop to war when resolutions, parliamentary appeals and even a call for general refusal to serve are impotent.* But, as stated before, sabotage is but one phase of the question. Anti-military and anti-patriotic agitation must be carried on.

Sabotage is a mighty force as a revolutionary tactic against the repressive forces of capitalism, whether those repressions be direct or through the state.

"It is guerrilla warfare," is another cry against sabotage. Well, what of it? Has not guerrilla warfare proven itself to be a useful thing to repel invaders and to make gains for one or other of the opposing forces? Do not the capitalists use guerrilla warfare? Guerrilla warfare brings out the courage of individuals, it develops initiative, daring, resoluteness and audacity. Sabotage does the same for its users. It is to the social war what guerrillas are to national wars. If it does no more than awaken a portion of the workers from their lethargy it will have been justified. But it will do more than that; it will keep the workers awake and will incite them to do battle with masters. It will give added hope to the militant minority, the few who always bear the brunt of the struggle.

The saboteur is the sharpshooter of the revolution. He has the courage and the daring to invade the enemy's country in the uniform of a "loyal", that is to say — subservient, worker. *But he knows that loyalty to the employer means treason to his class.* Sabotage is the smokeless powder of the social war. It scores a hit, while its source is seldom detected. It is so universally feared by the employers that they do not even desire that it be condemned for fear the slave class may learn still more its great value.

Indeed, it can be seen that the masters are powerless in the face of this weapon. In the realm of production the masters do not enter except by indirection. The creation of wealth is the work of the wage slave class, and every tendency of this class is toward sabotage.

The time clock has come as a sign that the boss recognises the instinctive sabotage that is universal. In many establishments there is even a time clock in front of each toilet, with a time limit for the toilers to remain inside. But where is there a factory that has not its saboteurs who show their class solidarity by ringing in time for some of their fellow workers? In many establishments the time clock has an unaccountable habit of getting out of order and so costing the firm more than the amount of labour time saved otherwise. As a check against the spread of sabotage the employers have their paid writers to tell tales of how success in life is sure to attend the worker who does not watch the clock and who endeavours at every opportunity to save money for the employer. But there are more of the workers who are coming to see that any saving that is made is not reflected in their pay envelopes; but simply means larger profits to those who are already getting the good things in life already getting the bulk of the good things of life. They also know that where one might possibly forge ahead by being a "boss-lover", the same line of action on the part of the whole force would reduce the number of employees needed

and probably result in their dismissal. Knowing this they are scornful of veiled preachments against sabotage.

Those who denounce sabotage as "unfair" are also seen to be supporters of the kind of unions that notify the employers six months in advance of a strike, thus allowing them to procure scabs or to stockpile so as to have material with which to supply the demand for goods while the workers are starving. The same moralists also hold that it is wrong for the miners to call out the pumpmen on strike because the mines would flood, ignoring the fact that such action would quickly bring the employer to terms.

In wartime a flank movement is always feared by each of the opposing forces. In the social war sabotage is the best kind of flank movement upon our enemy — the employing class. An actual instance will serve to illustrate the point.

On an orchard farm in the state of Washington a disagreement arose over conditions on the job. A strike took place. The I.W.W. members among the strikers immediately telephoned to the union in the nearest city. When the employer arrived in town looking for a new crew he was rather surprised at his speedy success. Full fare was paid for the men and the railway train was boarded. At the first stop, about two miles from the city, the whole crew deserted the train. They were all members of the union. Returning to the city the farmer picked up a second crew. He arranged to have them pay their own fare, same to be refunded upon their arrival at the farm. This crew went through all right and worked for a while under the farmer's direction. Thinking the strike was successfully broken the employer finally busied himself with other matters for the rest of the day. Next morning upon visiting the work the farmer was surprised to see that 1000 young trees had been planted upside down, their roots waving to the breeze as a mute evidence of solidarity and sabotage. No further argument was needed to convince the farmer of the "justice" of the demands of the original crew.

This instance also shows that sabotage is not always an individual action. It oftentimes develops into mass action. Slowing up on the job is the most frequent form of mass sabotage, but a commonly related incident shows one of its other forms.

A gang of section men working on a railroad in Indiana were notified of a cut in their wages. The workers immediately took their shovels to the blacksmith shop and cut two inches from the scoops. Returning to the work, they told the boss: "Short pay — short shovels."

Every cut in wages is met by a decrease in efficiency on the part of the workers. It remains for the militants to show that mass sabotage can be used to counteract the decreased wages that do not appear in terms of money but arise from the higher cost of living. When this is plain to the workers it will be only a step for them to use sabotage as a lever by which to raise wages and, in the hands of the most rebellious, as a means to destroy profits utterly. For the piece workers other methods must be used. They, naturally enough, are not interested in diminishing their product. Sabotage can be used in the quality or upon the materials or the tools. It is useless to try to give all the different methods that are capable of being used. Each line of work dictates its own methods.

The one point must be borne in mind, however, is that sabotage is not directed towards the consumer. The reason for sabotage is to strike a blow at the employing class profits and that is the thing that must always be uppermost in the mind of the saboteur. But take a theatre strike,

where the patrons are fully aware that a boycott is on and the consumer — the playgoer — is then considered an ally of the employer and therefore to be treated as an enemy. The motion picture operators, especially in Chicago, have used sabotage to good advantage to clear the houses of unfair patrons. They simply dropped some vile smelling chemicals upon the floor during the performance and then made a quiet and speedy exit. The audience generally followed the example within a short time. This method was used only after an extensive boycott of the theatre in question had been advertised.

It is quite natural that the employing class try to have it generally understood that sabotage means poisoning soup, putting ground glass in bread, dynamiting buildings and the like, so the revolutionists must at all times emphasise the point that *sabotage is not aimed at the consumer but at the heart and soul of the employing class — the pocketbook.*

"It will be met by the lockout", is another argument advanced against the use of sabotage. That is to say, the employer, finding sabotage in use at his factory, will cut off all of his profits in order to try to save a portion of them! But let a lockout be used, and will not wage workers have to be employed as soon as operations are resumed? Will not the employer have to hire the same saboteurs, who have remained unknown to him? If workers are imported, cannot saboteurs get on the job in the guise of scabs?

A little thought on the subject shows that a lockout is impracticable in the face of sabotage. No employer locks out his force with the intention of keeping them out permanently. The workers must be re-employed. Their lockout experiences will drive home the class struggle more than would a thousand lectures on the subject, and many of them will return to work, as was predicted in the Lawrence strike, "with bitterness in their hearts and emery dust in their pockets." The employers, however, resort to the lockout only when all else has failed. Even when using this weapon they seek to have it appear as a strike, and they launch it at a time favourable to themselves in every particular, and therefore unfavourable to the workers. They hope, by such a lockout, to cause the workers to lose faith in the strike as a weapon; failing to note the fact that workers strike because they must, and not through mere desire. *They do not know that no agitator can cause a strike, no writer can call sabotage into use, no social revolution can be created and consummated, unless all the socially necessary elements of discontent are present.*

The direct lockout, even when it serves the immediate end of the employers, is harmful to their class interests as a whole. Even Gompers would scarcely dare preach "mutual interests" to locked out workers. Instead of blaming themselves for having struck, or placing the blame upon inefficient strike leadership, all the hatred of the workers is directed against the employers. *Armed with a knowledge of sabotage the workers return to their task, more terrible in defeat than in victory.*

Nor can the military forces be successfully employed against sabotage. The employers could not long afford to have a soldier to guard each worker. The workers, in fact, would immediately rebel when placed under such espionage. Neither is there any surety that sabotage will not have permeated the army. It is there already and it is growing in favour. Even were the workers to allow the military rule it might mean that sabotage would cease for the time being, to break out all the more fiercely the moment the soldiers were withdrawn, but more likely the natural resentment against such espionage would lead to

an increased amount of sabotage. Wealth cannot be created with bayonets. The employers well know that their rule rests upon the peaceful acquiescence of the workers. They will scarcely undermine their own foundation by employing soldiers to massacre an entire force when a militant minority use sabotage.

Now that the capitalist class are ceasing even to perform the slight task of nominal superintendence in the industries to which they hold legal title, they are entitled to absolutely no consideration at the hands of the actual producers of wealth. Their withdrawal also means that the slight remaining check to sabotage is removed.

Eliminating all the obviously master class objections there remain but two pertinent questions from the point of view of the class conscious worker. Does sabotage destroy working class solidarity? Will sabotage continue to disarrange industry when the workers have taken possession?

Taking up the two questions in turn it can be shown that sabotage is not a boomerang that will return to slay those who use it.

Working class solidarity is simply the result of consciousness of power. Sabotage, by arming the workers with a weapon which the masters cannot wrest from them adds greatly to the feeling of strength.

Mass sabotage is in itself a sign of solidarity. *The concerted withdrawal of efficiency, by slowing down or other means, is sure to bind the workers closer together.* This is true whether they are organised or not. In case they are organised it gives to the workers a greater sense of security as well as additional industrial control.

Individual acts of sabotage, performed to the end that class benefit be derived, can in no way militate against solidarity. Rather they promote unity. The saboteur involves no one but himself and is impelled to take the risk by reason of his strong class desires.

Solidarity between the capitalists does not seem to be affected by their use of sabotage. That they fight each other with that potent weapon is quite evident. That they use it upon the workers is also easily seen. But nowhere can it be shown that there has been a division in the ranks of their fighting organisations, when the workers were doing battle for them, as a result of their use of sabotage.

Various cases of this capitalist sabotage might be quoted. Competitors of the Standard Oil Company often found that legal documents had been improperly executed for them. Rivals of the Sugar Trusts had foreign materials introduced into their shipments, and in the fight of Havemeyer against Spreckels the latter's machinery had an unaccountable habit of getting out of order. A Denver brewing company almost ruined a competitor by hiring men to spread the story that a decomposed body had been found at the bottom of its rival's brew vat. But when it comes to robbing the wage workers these capitalist saboteurs are "banded together like thieves at a fair".

Several of the so-called 'muck raking' magazines have been forced to suspend through the use of sabotage. *Hampton's* was killed in that manner by those capitalists who saw their interests menaced. *The Appeal to Reason* has been a sufferer at the hands of capitalist saboteurs who stole their mailing lists and played havoc with the mailing room generally. Just imagine the effects upon capitalism were the *Appeal* to have its millions of readers apply the same tactics!

Upon learning that 'accidents' had happened to fifty thousand yards of cloth, during the trial of Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso, William Wood is reported to have said "They are beating us at our own game." Surely no one can seriously

claim that sabotage in the textile industry did not help to cement the various workers all the more closely together.

Even were it true that sabotage worked against solidarity to some extent, still it would have to receive consideration as an economic factor. It is sure to remain in use. It is co-existent with human slavery. *No analysis of the labour movement is complete where sabotage is not accepted as a weapon.*

Just as sabotage must differ in each industry so also must it change with industrial development. Should capitalism create an oligarchy to crush out all labour organisation the attempt would be met by destructive sabotage. The degree of destruction would depend on the measure of repression.

But should matters follow their present course, with the possibility of the workers gaining an ever increasing amount of industrial control, then labour's tactics will develop accordingly, with constructive sabotage as a result.

To every positive there must be a negative and in all cases destruction must precede construction. Therefore, there is no absurdity in the term "constructive sabotage".

Sabotage may mean the direct destruction of property. Again it may mean indirect destruction through organised inefficiency. Or as an alternative it may proceed from a greater degree of efficiency than is desired by the employing class. This last is the point toward which sabotage tends when coupled with class solidarity.

The direct destruction of property for immediate individual benefit or to make a gain for a small group is but the following out of the theory of economic determinism. As such no revolutionist can condemn it. The indirect destruction of property for group benefit may also be a class weapon. It may be abused, but so may any other means of warfare. Like the strike, the fear of its use has as great a power as its direct application. The constructive qualities, in such a case, comes from its power to solidify labour. *A consciousness of economic might springs from the knowledge thus gained, that the employers have no force save that given by the labour of the slave class.*

As solidarity is produced there comes an added feeling of responsibility upon the organised workers. Gaining more and more the control of industry they realise that before long the management of the whole of society will rest in their hands. Sabotage, which is sure to be used as long as a slave class exists, will then take on a definitely constructive character.

It is already the trend for sabotage to be directed more against the product than the machine. As the idea of an injury to one being an injury to all sinks in more thoroughly we shall see products sabotaged in a different manner — constructively.

The workers are coming to see that their class is the one to whom adulterated food, shoddy clothing and rotten materials are sold, and by refusing to adulterate products they not only destroy the employers profits but safeguard their own lives as well. The bakers can gain the same result by putting the best of materials in the bread and pastry as they can by inserting coal oil. The secret refusal of packing house workers to handle rotten meats certainly is constructive from a class or social viewpoint. Yet such actions are fatal to the employer's profits as is the direct destruction of products. In fact it does mean the destruction of alum in bakeries, of 'slunk' calves in packing houses, of 'shoddy' in the woollen mills, and the destruction of capitalist property in profits.

The mass of workers are already propertyless. No tie binds them to our so-called civilisation. Sabotage, for protection as well as for revenge,

appeals to them. They have nothing to lose and much to gain by its use. Their economic conditions call for sabotage as a weapon against oppression. This mass must be impregnated with the ideal of working class control of industry so their sabotage may take on a constructive character. That ideal is already firing the brains and nerving the hands of thousands of migratory workers.

Without apologising for sabotage in any form, it can be said that constructive sabotage is destined to be a vital power in the class struggle from now until Capitalism falls and the industries are operated by the producers of all wealth.

With the workers in full control of industry it is evident that all able bodied adults will be required to take part in the productive process. This means an end to classes and class rule; the disappearance of the political state; and the carrying on of production for use instead of for profit. Industrial brotherhood will have ended the terrible civil war in industry and sabotage will naturally cease when the reason for its existence is removed. In an industrial democracy, where the productivity of the whole body would be reflected in the life of the individual and the acts of the individual in turn would be a contribution to all of society, it is inconceivable that sabotage would still be carried on. Any continuation of its use over an extended period would show the necessity for another industrial adjustment to secure the real objects of the revolution.

Should the victory of the workers be forestalled by State Socialism, or governmental ownership of industry, it would be a signal for an increased use of sabotage on the part of the industrialists. The governmental tendency to regard a strike of state employees as treason to be curbed by court martial, would be met by a strike on the job through the medium of sabotage. Many of the present congressmen have already stated that they regard the formation of a labour union among postal employees as illegal and that a strike would mean nothing less than treason to the government. The postal employees need run no risk of being court martialled or even dismissed from the service. In mass sabotage they have a weapon which may be used in an entirely legal but none the less effective manner. They can obey all rules. The example was given by some Austrian postal workers some two years ago, as reported in the Saturday Evening Post.

In order to gain certain demands, without losing their jobs, the Austrian postal workers strictly observed the rule that all mail matter must be weighed to see if proper postage was affixed. Formerly they had passed, without weighing, all those letters and parcels which were clearly underweight, thus living up to the spirit of the regulation but not to its exact wording. By taking each separate piece of mail matter to the scales, carefully weighing it and then returning it to its proper place, the postal workers had the office congested with unweighed mail on the second day. This method is more effective than striking, especially when used on a large scale.

In 1905 the railway workers of Italy gave a good example of the value of legal sabotage. They simply remained at their accustomed places and obeyed all the rules and regulations. When a person purchased a ticket they had to present the exact money. When they failed to comply, the rule in question was read to them. The gate closed exactly on the set time, leaving long lines of waiting passengers. Inside the yards the same thing was going on. Every carriage was examined to make sure it was in good condition. Every nut and bolt was tested before a carriage was allowed to leave the yard. Switching engines moved at the rate of speed called for in the regulations. When the indignant passengers tried to

leave the carriages they were held by the station guards and were shown the rule that forbade them to leave. Trains were thus held for hours, and finally when released from the station they were not allowed to run beyond the legal rate of speed and all signals were scrupulously observed. The service was completely demoralised within a short time.

So sabotage may be expected not only to form an increasingly popular weapon against capitalism, but also to be a means of bringing about the speedy downfall of any governmental ownership schemes that may be hatched for the purpose of blocking the road to industrial freedom. *Only with the gaining of industrial freedom will sabotage stop.*

When a strike breaks out the employers are quick to seize some prominent figures in the fight to place under arrest on serious charges. This in itself is not a bad thing for it has the immediate effect of solidifying the strikers. But when these arrests are multiplied to such an extent that special publicity cannot be had in each case, and conviction results, the workers are weakened. The increasing contempt for legal procedure will automatically shut off funds to support such cases unless it can be shown that the propaganda value of the trials is equal to the amount of cash expended. Yet it is certain that no organisation proclaiming that "An injury to one is an injury to all" can abandon any of the victimised workers. New tactics must be employed in such cases. *Sabotage is the most logical weapon to force a discontinuance of the practice of arresting strike leaders.*

Let the capitalist be reasonably certain that any attempt to judiciously strangle the spokesmen of the workers will be met by a prolonged series of mishaps in the industries, and their hands will be stayed. Let the depriving of the workers of their liberty be a signal to deprive the employer of all profits, and arrests will cease to multiply. Law is a thing in which the wage slave plays no part, but industry is the place where the employers are impotent when the workers decide to act. The same thing may be applied to cases where active union men, shop delegates, etc., are sacked. The employer generally starts his blacklist work when a strike is undesirable from a working class viewpoint, and the sackings may even be for the purpose of provoking a premature strike. Sabotage should be the answer to the disruptive attempts of the employers. Then again, there are minor grievances in the shops which the employer refuses to adjust and which are scarcely serious enough to warrant the tying up of industry. After due notification sabotage can be employed to gain the demands. This is especially true where the whole body are not class conscious enough to engage in an intermittent or irritation strike.

Sabotage has been called a confession of weakness because of its use when a strike has failed, where a strike is not advisable, or where the organisation is without mass power because of being in the process of formation. Admitting the charge, is it not true that the workers are still largely without the consciousness of power? It would be suicidal to act on the theory that we are today clothed with the might for which we are struggling. Being weak we must guard our embryonic organisation, using every means within our grasp save that of compromise with our enemy, the employing class.

Another childish charge is that sabotage cannot gain any benefit for the workers that could not as well be gained through industrial organisation. Can the battles of the present be fought with the weapons of the future? We are not armed today with thorough organisation, but every toiler in

the industries has sabotage at his command.

With thorough industrial organisation there would be no wage system, and it is idle to suppose that the capitalists will allow the workers to build a union to displace them without making strenuous attempts to wreck the structure. Sabotage can be used as a means of fighting capitalism in its attempts to stop the creating of a new society. The above mentioned argument sounds strangely like that of the socialist politician. We are told to elect an M.P. to prevent violence against striking workers. Suggesting that the police would still be sent to protect private property, we are told that a socialist Prime Minister is the necessary article to win strikes with. Then to crown it we are told by some that strikes will cease when a socialist is Prime Minister, while other maintain that such a Prime Minister will abolish Parliament and turn the industries over to the workers.

But strike leaders are being jailed and active rebels victimised now, and we must meet conditions as they exist and not as they will be when the present system is overthrown. Sabotage is a weapon of the existing daily combat between the masters and the slaves.

"Open Mouth" sabotage shows the weapon in its best form, a form which allows the spy but little place to act; which does not allow use of police; which strikes at the fraudulent practices on which Capitalism is based.

Commerce today is founded on fraud. Capitalism's standard of honesty demands that the wage slave lie to everyone except his employer. An honest businessman is a myth and an honest clerk could not sell the shoddy goods of the merchants. There is not a single portion of the commerce of the entire world where exact truthfulness would not spell financial ruin under present conditions.

In the foodstuffs industry open mouth sabotage is peculiarly potent. Its use will at once enlist the support of a large portion of the public. It becomes one of the highest social acts. Let the workers, instead of striking, or even when on strike, expose the methods of manufacture and the boss will soon come to terms.

Let the workers in the sweet factories tell of the glucose, terra alba and other poisonous substances in the sweets, and the consumer becomes hostile to the manufacturer.

Let the cooks tell how food is prepared for the table: of how foul meats are treated with chemicals so they may be served; let the dishwashers, waiters and other hotel and restaurant workers tell of conditions under which dishes are "washed" and the orders "prepared", and the employers will be forced into submission.

Let the building workers make known the substitution that invariably takes place in erecting structures by contract.

Let the factory workers tell of goods piled up beyond the fire limit. The workers engaged in the building of bridges, dams, reservoirs and structures of a similar nature, can tell of inferior materials used therein and of methods of construction not according to specifications, often being the direct cause of many deaths. Workers can tell of faulty engines, unsafe trestles. Marine transport workers would do well to tell of the insufficient number of lifeboats, of inferior belts, and so forth. The textile worker can tell of the shoddy that is sold as good cloth.

The persistent use of open mouth sabotage, besides gaining the demands of the workers, will be more effective in bringing about the stoppage of adulteration of foods than "pure food laws" or other remedial legislation.

Nor does open mouth sabotage end there. The workers carry with them the secrets of the masters.

Let them divulge these secrets, whether they be the secret methods of manufacture that competitors are striving to learn, or acts of repression directed against the workers. *Let the masters know that henceforth they must deal with industrial mutiny.*

Both France and this country can record cases where it has been found expedient to have loyal workers pose as detectives so as to ferret out the secrets of the masters' guardians. The famous case in Boise, Idaho, is one example; and in nearly every great battle the working class forces are forewarned of some of the intended attacks.

With this effectual form of sabotage we do not think that even the reformer can quarrel. In fact, he is a party to it at all times as he justifies it on humanitarian grounds.

CONCLUSION

Labour produces all wealth – all wealth belongs to labour

We, the workers, mental and manual, with our muscle, mind and skill, wrest raw materials from the breast of nature and with infinite pain fashion them into things of social value. We are the creators – to us belong the products. So far as actual productive processes are concerned we are in possession of industry, yet we have neither ownership nor control because of an absurd belief in property rights.

We stand aghast at the things of our own making. We create property and let it master us. We build things great and small and we who are greater than all stand in abject fear of our own creations, foolishly thinking them to have some supernatural power – some force outside ourselves.

Property and precedent rule us all today and the precedents rest, one and all, upon a property basis. Things of flesh and blood and bone and sinew and tissue are held cheap as compared to the things of iron and steel and stone and brick and wood. "Property is robbery", said Proudhon. If this means that reverence for "property rights" is the basis for all exploitation, then Proudhon was right. The idea that wealth is greater than its creators has enslaved the world's toilers.

We have damned ourselves because we have thought that the right of the baker's shop and the bread was greater than the right of the working man's empty stomach. That same foolish belief has crowded countless thousands into death dealing tenements, while on the healthy outskirts of the city there are numerous vacant dwellings. Garment workers are out at the elbows while the warehouse shelves groan beneath their load of clothing. "Property" is indeed a hideous Frankenstein which will destroy us unless we are first able to destroy the sanctity with which it is surrounded.

Sabotage is discredited by those who believe in property rights. It is the weapon of those who no longer reverence the thing that fetters them. Its advocacy and use help to destroy the "property illusion". The parasites, who have property, oppose sabotage, while the producers, who have poverty, are commencing to wield that potent weapon.

Is the machine greater than its makers? Sabotage says "No!"

Is the product greater than the producers? Sabotage says "No!"

Sabotage places human life – and especially the life of the only useful class – higher than all else in the universe.

Will you keep private property and public poverty, master class morals and working class misery, capitalism and crime – or will you arise in your outraged manhood and take a stand for sabotage, solidarity and a new social order in which there will be neither master nor slave? *For sabotage or for slavery? Which?*

ANARCHISM IN GREEK PHILOSOPHY

At first sight the title "Anarchism in Greek Philosophy" may seem somewhat of a contradiction. Our attitudes towards Hellenism, conditioned as they are by nineteenth century romanticism, have accustomed us to regard Greek thought as the complete antithesis of anarchism. This is the result of close study of Plato and Aristotle at the expense of other philosophers; such study leads to the impression that the beliefs of either of these thinkers were typical of Greek speculation. If we remember that over one thousand years separates the Ionian physicists from the closing of the schools by Justinian and if we do not lose sight of the fact that during that period philosophy ran the gamut from scientific or quasi-scientific speculation to the esoteric ritualism of the Hermetic Brotherhood, then we shall not find it so surprising that some Greek thinkers evolved theories which led them to adopt an anarchistic position.

Before proceeding to an account of these thinkers I should like to make some preliminary points. Firstly, the purpose of this article is historical, not critical. It is not my aim to give an analytical discussion of anarchist theories in Greek philosophy but rather to give an account of one of the doctrines, chiefly those held by the Cynics, which might be termed anarchistic. Secondly I am not in any way concerned to give a comprehensive view of the growth of Greek philosophy during the 4th and 3rd century B.C. Those who wish to pursue this field of study may refer to the standard works of reference. My intention is solely to bring to notice some aspects of the branch of Greek philosophy which seem to have been overlooked by most modern writers.

In order to gain an overall perspective of the period it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the course of Greek history up to the 3rd century B.C. Prior to the conquests of Phillip of Macedon, the Greeks were city-state dwellers, owing allegiance to one or other of the polis* each of which was a political and social entity, autonomous and economically self-sufficient. No matter how complex the superstructure of government became, the basic nature of the polis remained and when Athens by her imperial ambitions, trespassed upon the privileges of the polis, Greek sentiment was outraged to the extent of declaring war. This is not, of course, the only reason for the Peloponnesian War. It would be foolish to put forward such a simplification: Nevertheless Athens, by annexing the members of the Delian League placed upon them a restraint which the military power of Sparta hesitated to place on the members of her own federation: It was this restraint and its implications for the autonomy of the polis which may be said to be at the root of the ill-feeling among the non-Athenian states. Ironically the subsequent conflict and the rise of Macedon led to the destruction

* Nothing to do with the Glasgow constabulary

of the city state as a political reality or a philosophical ideal. The trend was to a world-state and Greek philosophy, which had previously been conditioned to situations which might arise in a city-state, was forced to adjust to meet the new demands. As a result world systems such as Stoicism and Epicureanism were evolved, systems which attempted to discover philosophical positions which might explain or rationalise the new political and social situations which the Alexandrian empire had created. The chief characteristic of these two world systems was in their recognition of one universal end for all men and in their acceptance of all men as brothers within the bonds of the system. Unlike the theories of Plato and Aristotle which were designed for the improvement of the few, Stoic and Epicurean beliefs made no barrier to any man's acceptance provided that he followed the tenets of the faith. A third system, Cynicism, suggested a position very similar to that which we regard as classical anarchism in the form enunciated by Bakunin and Kropotkin. It is, however, not possible to speak of a Cynic school as we can speak of Stoics or Epicureans. There was never a connected corpus of theoretical writings which might be described as Cynic nor was there ever any agreement among the Cynics themselves as to the correct methods of interpreting their founders' doctrines in practice: In this refusal to elevate one particular formulation of belief into a Cynic canon, the Cynics were quite atypical of 3rd Century philosophical systems.

In order to understand the Cynic position it is essential to understand the connotations of two Greek words *Physis* and *Nomos*. These may best be translated as Nature and Custom but their semantic developments are most involved. *Physis* can mean the natural form an object takes as a result of normal growth, it can refer to a person's nature or character, it can be used of animals' instinct and it can mean the natural order of things, the regular order of nature. *Nomos* on the other hand means usage, or law, or the established authority or body of ordinances which govern a set of circumstances. It can be seen that some of the meanings of these two words are widely contradictory while others reconcile these two concepts. Ionian physics was concerned to perceive the order in nature, the Sophists were concerned to unite Nature and Law in the ideal man. Plato preached a life "according to Nature" a cry which was adopted by the Cynics themselves, and Aristotle devoted a lifetime to the imposing of order upon the natural occurrence of things. The important thing for us to realise is that Greek philosophical systems except the Cynics' attempted to reconcile the two concepts. The Cynics alone rejected *Nomos* and sought a life which might be lived purely by the dictates of Nature. It is illuminating to read such a work as Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* in the light of Cynic doctrine. It is

even more instructive for our immediate purpose to examine the implications for the Greeks of a rejection of *Nomos*.

One of the results of a political system which is based on a small unit such as the city-state, is that appeals to a common interest are less likely to deceive the people than they would in a large system such as our own. In the polis the citizens would be acquainted with each other's prejudices and aspirations, and opportunities for the destruction of one's enemies or the elevation of one's friends would be more readily available. One result of this was that the Greeks never sought to bolster their legal penalties by appeals to divine inspiration or motivation; the notion of custom or usage was never quite submerged in the notion of law. By rejecting the validity of *Nomos*, the Cynics were not rejecting any theological system, but rather the rule of custom or convention. However, because the Greek saw through appeals to common interest, once a particular *nomos* had been accepted as forming part of the general body of *Nomos*, it was almost impossible to reject this without undermining the whole basis of organised society. The strongest appeal a Greek lawyer can make is to what is customary. Therefore in rejecting *Nomos* the Cynics were rejecting organised society and denying the right of established authority to prescribe the limits of their actions. When Diogenes slept with prostitutes in the street he was offending far more than the sensibilities of squeamish bystanders. His action struck at the foundations of ordered social existence as Greeks knew it.

This is not easy for 20th Century man to understand. We are used to the idea that laws are formulated in order to preserve a status quo which is divinely commanded. The Greek might have said that the order of the world pleased the Gods but he would not have been likely to claim that the order of the world was established and maintained by the Gods. Disorder, chaos or anarchy was an offence against man's reason and this was a much more serious affair than irreligion. Of course religion was supported by the state but it is significant that while Socrates is charged with atheism and impiety the real sting of the accusation is that he teaches the worse to appear the better case, that is he perverts what is the "natural order of things".

We have seen, therefore, that Greek philosophy as a whole was concerned with uniting the forces of Nature and Custom while Cynicism rejected the latter out of hand and preached the life according to Nature. It is now-time to examine some of the individual doctrines which the Cynics professed, and to discover what qualities in them may be termed anarchistic:

D.R. Dudley points out that, despite the claims of antiquity that Antithesis was the founder of Cynicism, Diogenes of Sinope must be regarded as the true formulator of the Cynic way of life.

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I have no time to discuss the numerous stories which connected themselves with Diogenes' eccentric way of practising his doctrines. These stories come mostly from later writers whose main aim is to denigrate Cynicism and may thus be discounted. Perhaps the most important gift which Diogenes bequeathed to the Cynic brotherhood was his insistence on the practical application of his beliefs. He was no armchair philosopher, no academic theorist divorced from the exigencies of real life situations. The very fact that so many stories grew up around his personality indicates the degree to which he carried his preaching into practice. For the Cynics Diogenes became a heroic figure only second in importance to Hercules their divine patron. In view of his importance it will be of value to examine those opinions which can reasonably be assigned to him from the mass of conflicting evidence.

One of the most famous paradoxes of Diogenes is his command "Deface the Currency." In order to understand fully the implications of this phrase it is necessary to realise that the word for currency is nomisma, a word derived from Nomos. The Greek system of currency was not standardised and coins minted according to various standards were in circulation: Attic, Aeginitian and Euboic coin-standard were all accepted as valid currency. However, this flux of currency standard meant that counterfeiting or defacing the coinage was a much more serious offence than it is today since its consequences were more far-reaching. Therefore in commanding his followers to deface the coinage Diogenes was enjoining a wholesale attack on prevailing conventions in all spheres of human activity. "The standard of value of society is wrong", proclaims Diogenes, and his

solution is the complete rejection of such a standard. Such a policy demands complete freedom of speech and action and these became the two qualities most associated with the Cynics. Stories illustrating Diogenes' possession of both these qualities abound in the literature of antiquity but the burden of all of them is the same; without fear of any consequence Diogenes pursued his policy of attacking conventional mores no matter into what apparently gross position this might lead him.

Moreover, this freedom was didactic in purpose. The aim of Diogenes and his fellow Cynics was to change the situation which seemed to them so full of evil. They were in other words moralistic in their intent and they preached that if their precepts were to be followed, social happiness would result.

This seems very close to the ideas of 19 century anarchism as practised by Kropotkin and is in sharp contrast to professed Libertarian principles although Libertarian practice often comes very close to proselytising and evangelising. The Cynics, in setting out a programme for happy existence were following the tendency of the other world systems. Greek philosophy from the 16th century B.C. onwards was always concerned to find for mankind a way in which the demands of society could be met satisfactorily. The Cynics rejected these demands out of hand, they denied the competence of courts to judge their actions and they propagated the doctrine that all social laws, hierarchies and standards were invalid. If we read the works of Malatesta or Bakunin or examine the motives of the Anarcho-Syndicalist movements in the Spanish anti-fascist conflict a great many parallels will become apparent.

We have seen that in their insistence on absolute freedom of speech and action the Cynics formulated an idea which is characteristic of Anarchistic thought. Another parallel idea was the relative concept of law. As Sayne says "Since laws were made by men and might have been other than what they were, and since customs varied in different countries, the Cynics held that laws and customs had no validity. They did not consider that the mere fact that observances were required by law and custom gave them a moral validity."

Sayne's book on Diogenes, written as it is from a condemnatory point of view, is most instructive for it shows up the parallels between Cynicism and Anarchism. Julian says in one place, speaking of the Cynic Oenomaus "This then is his aim, to do away with all reverence to the gods, to bring dishonour on all human wisdom, to trample on all law that can be identified with honour and justice, and more than this, to trample on those laws which have been as it were engraved on our souls by the gods. . . Robbers take cover in desert places, whereas the Cynics go up and down in our midst subverting the institutions of society (7.209 - 210). It is clear that much of the Cynics' purpose finds its counterpart in Anarchist theory.

In the course of what has been a most sketchy account of some aspects of the subject I have been concerned merely to show some similarities between Cynic thought and Anarchist theory. I have not assayed completeness nor have I attempted criticism. Those who are interested to pursue Cynicism further may find D.R. Dudley's book *A History of Cynicism of value.*

D. Ferraro

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ANARCHISM AND FREEMASONRY

Bowler hats and Black bandanas

The Masonic secret societies are seldom given serious consideration in relation to the overall problem of the class struggle. There is a faint air of the ridiculous about them in the English speaking countries and many wonder why Catholic reaction has spent so much time and effort complaining about them, and why fascists have linked them with a mythical "Jewish world conspiracy." An Englishman viewing a clerical demonstration in Vienna in the Dolfuss era and hearing the cry "Down with the Freemasons!" is said to have asked naively, "Why not down with the Surbiton Cricket Club?"

Yet even "knife and fork" careerist Masonry has to be taken seriously. True, it is amusing to find, for instance, portly members of the rag trade giving secret signs as they roll into their snobbish social gatherings, a combination of club, trade monopoly and benefit society, but its influence within the police force, security services and judiciary is serious indeed.

Where the "Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite" persists, in the English speaking countries, Masonry accepts the Deity — "The Grand Architect of the Universe" — and has in effect no "secrets" to preserve though they do preserve the mummery designed to hide "secrets", and in the main exists as a rich man's club designed to maintain contacts and improve business and career prospects. Similar cabals of mutual back scratching proliferate outside Masonry; it is endemic to many minorities seeking their own power spheres.

There is indeed an offshoot in Scottish (and Northern Irish) circles where career masonry

is replaced by a working class masonry which preserves the original anti-Catholicism: the Orange Lodge managed to achieve support for the Establishment amongst workers, at any rate until recent challenges.

The Grand Orient is different again from this type of Masonry. It is closer to the original concept of Freemasonry going back, as it does, to the days of the French Encyclopaedists, and represents the rise to power of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against feudalism, especially as represented by the Church. The secret societies were, in the nineteenth century, much wider than the Freemasons — who latched onto other traditions in tracing their ancestry, mythically, as far back as the construction of Solomon's Temple and, more plausibly but still inaccurately, to the chivalrous orders of the Crusades such as the Knights Templar.

The secret societies really consisted of masons, and of other crafts, which preserved the mysteries of their craft: which were a craft pioneer of trade unionism and a model of guild socialism in their day. It is these secret societies which many revolutionists — such as Bakunin contacted — despite the disbelief by academic researchers such as Professor Carr who put it down to his fertile imagination... yet which meant that in Spain, for instance, Bakunin could send an emissary not speaking Spanish and in the course of one meeting "convert", apparently miraculously, thousands of workmen all over the country. The truth is, of course, they were already there in secret societies, not only in Spain — as Benjamin Disraeli knew, for instance, and warned of as a serious threat to

conservatism. They represented a fourth type of masonry: unlike career Masonry of England, working-class and non-esoteric Masonry of Scotland and Northern Ireland (Canada too); and the Masonry of the Continent, though it is fair to say that there too, as in forms of trade unionism, the English variant is appearing and growing. It is this last type of Masonry which has been prominent in French politics and the Spanish Republic — being proscribed by Franco (whose brother was, incidentally, reputed to have been a prominent member). It is this freemasonry which is pioneering the capitalist thrust in Spain and within many parliamentary democratic parties, and may yet face a showdown from clerical reaction.

But what sort of force is it. The following essays appeared in the influential French anarchist journal *Noir et Rouge* (Nos. 23/11/63 & 27/5/64 and the question had been dealt with earlier in an entire edition of N&R (No. 5, 1958). The reason for dealing with the subject in the first place was to clarify the confusion which existed within the French anarchist movement as to the real nature of Freemasonry and its attempts to "recuperate" anarchism in France. Although Freemasonry does not present a direct threat to the anarchist movement in the English speaking world — directly, anyway, — its manoeuvres and ideology throws considerable light on the motivation of "libertarians" who wish to "organise" the anarchist movement within a leninist structure leading to, at best, its inevitable collapse, or, at worst, a self-perpetuating and machiavellian mockery of its original aims and aspirations.

Freemasonry — according to its own statements. Although it pretends to have no ideology, a certain number of attitudes and common beliefs serve as a basis of agreement between Freemasons. It is enough to allow Freemasonry to speak for itself: let us begin with the Article no.1 of its Constitution (1877 Declaration):

"Freemasonry, which is an essentially philanthropic, philosophical and progressive institution, has as its aim the search for truth, the study of ethical behaviour and the practice of solidarity; it works for the material and moral improvement and the intellectual and social perfection of mankind.

It holds as fundamental the principles of mutual tolerance, respect for others and oneself and absolute freedom of conscience. Believing metaphysical convictions to be the exclusive domain of the individual appreciation of its members it refuses to make any dogmatic assertions.

Its motto is: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

That is already a statement of principles. Let us go a little further, taking as an example the radio broadcasts made by the Grand Orient of France (G.O.F.) and the Grand Lodge of France. (These broadcasts were later produced as pamphlets).

"... Among our ranks one may meet atheists, spiritualists, materialists, and, contrary to certain assertions, the Grand Orient of France professes neither atheism nor materialism any

more than it does belief in God. It refrains from telling its members to stick to any particular principle or not to believe in any other. It calls on them merely to think..."

"... All expressions of thought, all setting forth of opinions may come to it, provided that they are sincere..."

"... Beside aspirations of the heart it also shelters all speculations of the mind, but it does not adopt or recommend any..."

"This kind of eclecticism, this spectrum of studies should convince all men of good faith that when the Grand Orient of France works in search of truth then it rejects every pre-conceived idea, every dogma, and the imposition of any conclusion." (Broadcast 5/8/62 — G.O.F.)

The same thoughts have been developed and elaborated time and time again both in speech and in writing by the Freemasons. We may summarise them in selecting from their own sources:

"Freemasonry is a universal alliance in which every man of goodwill may find his place, whatever his race, his trade, his beliefs or convictions.

"more than international, it is universal..."

"Every human association has two goals — devotion to a creed and defence of a common interest. Freemasonry on the contrary, has no dogma and no material or worldly interest..."

"Freemasonry is the natural enemy of all those who dare, through violence or trickery,

to impose their authority on other men. Freemasonry is a universal alliance for free men against every despotic regime..."

"It sets no limits to its search for truth. It would not dream of affiliation to any sect or of taking sides on behalf of any school of thought. It is a self-governing and autonomous institution.

"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!"

"Liberty: above all freedom of thought and the freedom of the citizen who should have to bow to no-one, only before the law; lastly, freedom from fear and from hardship.

Equality: Men should be equal before the law. Equality should establish equity in the distribution of material goods.

Fraternity: the supreme rule." (broadcast of 7/12/47). (Distributed by the G.O.F. and the Grand Lodge).

"Recent experiments made on a world scale have attempted to prove that the happiness of the masses could be achieved through the annihilation and the negation of the rights of man. We believe the contrary..." (broadcast of 4/1/48. G.O.F.)

"... It seems useful to us to underline the apolitical character of Freemasonry and especially of the G.O.F. The idea is bandied about that the Freemasons are nothing but common carpet-baggers. If politicking is to wish for the coming of a nobler humanity and a more enlightened one, the Freemasons willingly accept this reproach... Many Masons think

that their political activity is in the nature of transposing into the City or the Countryside a slice of their Masonic ideal . . .

"It isn't Freemasonry which plays politics, then, but that the political parties, inasmuch as they are able really to look forward to human liberation (and this has not been thoroughly proved), are pursuing Freemasonry . . ." (broadcast 1/2/48. G.O.F.)

Men are not essentially distinguishable through differences in language they speak, clothes they wear, countries they inhabit. The whole world is only one large Republic in which each nation is a family, and each individual a child." (broadcast 7/3/48. G. O. F.)

" . . . But in order for a man to be free, it is necessary for the city where he lives to put forth just laws to him and offer solid guarantees of liberty of conscience. After which, if it is, as they say, playing politics to refuse to lower oneself and to keep up a passionate regard for the great interests of the Homeland with one's free will, then, yes, Freemasonry dabbles in politics." (5/9/48. G.O.F.)

"The founders of the secular school were Freemasons: Jules Ferry, Paul Bert, etc. Secularism equals tolerance. In the recent history of France, four times a republican regime and freedom of conscience have been established and three times self-seekers overthrew the Republic and strangled freedom., (Napoleon I, 18 Brumaire, Napoleon III, Pétain). The highest authorities of the Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church have lent a hand each time in establishing tyranny." (3/9/48).

"It is merely a question of reconciling – as the movement should – the most sharp-edged feelings of patriotism with the sense of the community of all human beings. The internationalism of political parties is a means of struggle, they call their members 'militants', the others are only enemies to put down or to fight. They can never gather together the whole of humanity.

Our enemies? They are the fanatics and dogmatists who believe that they alone possess the truth and who do not accept the freedom to scrutinise or the critical spirit, the ignorant ones who regard Freemasonry as "a self-help society" which puts in practice the principle of "mutual back-scratching."

Freemasonry should not hesitate to discuss any principle, whatever it may be; there is no sacred dogma for us men of free thought, no more that of property than that of the family; we have the right to discuss them all." (Couvent G.O. 1926).

Our Scrutiny: "Critical and Free"

After this somewhat lengthy exposition we can identify some of the essential points of the masonic philosophy: universalism as a criterion of truth, humanism, free enquiry, tolerance, anti-dogmatism, anti-authoritarianism, republican democracy, apolitical approach whilst at the same time struggling for an ideal, for Freedom, Equality, Fraternity, and for free thought; concern for the human individual; no dogma laid down, free enquiry as the motive of action, equality of the members.

Any libertarian can see the great resemblance between these principles and libertarian principles. Libertarian thought – at least for a certain number of comrades – is very alert to this attitude of mind and this mode of expression. What more beautiful than this seeking for truth, a search both impassioned and free to all; what more inspiring than this ardent love of humanity? In our inhuman, cold, dogmatic, tyrannical age . . .

Even if one takes care over the difference between the public teachings and the private teachings (reserved only for the initiated) it is still easy to "come under the spell" of Freemasonry. There were, and there are surely still, some libertarian freemasons (but we shall return to that). What takes precedence over the interest of certain individuals is the necessity for exactness, for precision in ideological and tactical demarcation between ourselves and the others. We in 'Noir et Rouge' wish to place our work in that perspective and to try to respond to that need. Hence our interest in studying Freemasonry.

Let us therefore make a critical examination of the Masonic position, beginning with the philosophical search for truth, for it is this which is at the same time the most important and the most ambiguous. Let us attempt for a moment to separate philosophy from social, economic, historical and human reality (which already is to take an idealist stance: ideas taking priority in conditioning reality – therefore already unacceptable to us, whilst acceptable to them). It is easy to proclaim opposition to all dogma, to every preconceived idea, to every concept forced upon one but how does one arrive on the purely philosophical plane – necessarily arbitrary, abstract and speculative? Can one really position oneself beyond and above all theory, every hypothesis, every concept and get beyond one's era in any real way in order to contemplate in a just, detached and objective way, the philosophical games and struggles without taking sides? In saying that one accepts no system or principle one is already elaborating a principle. The most detached philosophers – even the mystics – have always concluded by holding to a conception, a position or a system of positions vis-a-vis debated ideas (still in the special world of ideas).

This pretence of discovering absolute truth, total and objective, dates from the 18th century and the first half of the nineteenth; it is intimately connected with metaphysical preoccupations (the essence and transcendental reality of things) – indeed, even with alchemical ones (the philosopher's stone). For more than a century, science has recognised increasingly the absurdity of absolute concepts: with Einstein's relativity theory, Heisenberg's uncertainty principles, the impossibility of objective introspection and observation in psychology; with the relativism even of the most "objective" laws – that is, the laws of physics in macrocosm and microcosm; in rejecting monism and in accepting, more and more, dynamic relations between numerous factors which interact with each other . . .

We are far from concluding that freedom, initiative, equality and revolt are outmoded notions which are now absurd, completely relative and dialectically unreal. They exist and will exist as long as there are men, for they form part of man himself (he has need of liberty, of emotional development and intellectual development as he has need of food and sleep), but to be exact they are part of real man, biological and social man, taken in his individual fullness and in his social relations.

Social Point of View

We leave nebulous speculations therefore to get a grip again on reality. If we have doubts about the means and aims and the necessity or even the possibility of that philosophical approach, these doubts disappear when we place the Freemasonry movement in its true perspective: not only as a philosophical focal point but also as participating in political life –

in practical, everyday terms. The Freemasons accept that they should descend into the political arena to defend their principles and to try to make their ideal a reality; their self-classification into "practical freemasonry" (the freemasons of the Middle Ages) and "philosophical freemasonry" (starting from 1717 and 1773) is based on another, mythological and popular-traditional, level.

Our attitude needs to be clearly understood; we are saying that Freemasonry is politically involved. Not that that is a reproach, not at all, for their endeavours, their knowledge, their sacrifices are engaged in the service of mankind. It is not entirely or exclusively an abstract philosophical science unconnected with life.

We are also politically involved in the service of mankind; we also strive to bring libertarian ideas "into the arena" so that they can become known, relevant and capable of being put into effect. What we are discussing and what we believe is worth discussing are the methods of serving humanity, the resources upon which they rely and the obstacles which prevent the realisation of this "brotherhood of man," the germ of the society of the future.

"Philosophical and philanthropic" Freemasonry may be, but it is moreover an "institution" ("progressive"? – we shall see later), a social institution with its own tactics, its goals, methods etc. . . "the most ancient association of private individuals in our country with its 226 years of existence."

Their history confirms what we were saying: certain ideas, certain schemes, certain laws, having been worked out in their "workshops" have been finding their way into political and social life. But we cannot give a historical account here of those 226 years of Masonic activity in France, (still less in the whole world), of its real or imaginary role, of its myths and of the realities of this "respectable" institution (others like Pierrefitte, have done that). It is for us to underline certain facts, however, taking historical interpretations into careful account, especially masonic interpretations:

"One can make History say pretty well whatever one wishes. Above all when it's a question of the history of ideas. The masons of the 18th century talked and wrote a lot. It is easy to find something to support one theory or another." (Georges Allary, "The Trench-Mortar" ["Le Crapouillot"] no.20 – issue devoted to secret societies).

The starting point for the Freemason Movement is this:

"Freemasonry is not hostile to any form of democratic government. The English have traditionally maintained a traditional monarchy which has maintained the democratic freedoms. In France . . . their preference is for a republican and genuinely democratic form." (G.O.F., 2 May 1948).

"That is no doubt why humane governments so often call upon our members to take office. One sees them, in fact, in America as in Europe or in Asia, occupying the highest posts in the State." (G.O.F. 5/9/48).

"A mason is a peace-loving subject before the civil authorities, wherever he resides or works, and he should never get mixed up in plots laid by conspirators against the Peace and Well-Being of the Nation or neglect his civic duties."

"This is why if a brother rebels against the State it would not be right to support him in his rebellion, whatever sympathy he might inspire as an unhappy man." ("Anderson's Constitution" – Art. II: "Of the Civil Magistrate.")

"It is this Love of one's Country which is

finally the one characteristic, proper to Freemasonry all over the world in all its various disciplines, which distinguishes it from communism: that, and respect for the laws of the country where it is allowed to function freely. It recommends moreover to all its adherents, as citizens and masons, to submit to the laws of the country where they have the freedom to meet together without hindrance and to be ready for all the sacrifices which their Homeland may demand . . ." (1st chapter of the constitution of the Grand Lodge – after the Convention of Luxembourg. One of the 5 points of all the great European orders on "the recognition of services to the Homeland.")

Their ideal and preference is, therefore, a republican or monarchist *democracy*. In their Constitution (drafted by Anderson and checked in 1722 and 1723), in the second section, the "Old Charges" it is said that "*the mason should respect the civil power and will avoid entering into conspiracies against the peace or well-being of the nation.*"

Their democratic ideal is therefore not revolutionary but educational, legislative (they are constantly talking of laws) through the intermediary of the existing social structures. And yet Freemasonry lays claim noisily to the paternalism of the *French Revolution of 1789*, saying that the ideas of the Revolution had been "worked out" in its "workshops" and that Condorcet, Mirabeau, Marat, Robespierre were Freemasons. It is undeniable that *French Freemasonry played a large part in the Revolution*; at that time it had progressive ideas coming from the French Encyclopaedists, from English Protestants, from American revolutionaries and from philosophers of the period. But even this progressive aspect shows some peculiarities: the Grand Masters of Freemasonry were, among others, the Chevalier Ramsay, the Duke of Artois, Louis de Bourbon-Conde, the Duke of Chartres (future Philippe-Egalite); in 1780 Mirabeau presents his memoir in the Dutch Lodge in which the great theories of the Revolution were already sketched out (the well-being of all men, against despotism). But in 1782 Joseph de Maistre, monarchist and conservative, also presents a Memoir on "Transcendental Christianity" . . . It seems to us that at that time there must have been a great brewing and boiling up of ideas which were present and even emphasised in Freemasonry. Nevertheless it should be said that *Freemasonry formed the minds of those who were leaders in the 1789 Revolution*. But the Freemasons were soon to be overtaken by what they had wished for, which is not very surprising: in his Memoir of 1780 Mirabeau wishes for a gradual and educational modification to the system. In any case the Masons were soon to become incapable of directing the movement; so it was disoriented in 1792, French Freemasonry was to hold its last General Assembly the following year, in 1793, and the Grand Master of Freemasonry, Philippe Egalite, was even to publish a letter of self-accusation (which did not spare him the scaffold like his cousin Louis XVI, although he voted for the death of the latter).

The responsibility attributed to Freemasonry as regards the French Revolution alienated both the clergy and the nobility from it; it came to represent the middle class more and more; the Grand Revolution had already been made with the principles and drive of the middle class, but the evolution of the internal workings of Freemasonry was slow: thus it was that after 1796 the 'Grand Orient' was formed with more democratic tendencies and the 'Supreme

Council' with more aristocratic ones. They survived until our own day through many vicissitudes, the Grand Orient always remaining more secularist and democratic while the Grand Lodge kept a Deist character (Grand Architect).

As we are calling up history, it must be said that the 1848 revolution was greeted with enthusiasm by Freemasonry: a delegation went officially to the Guildhall where it was received by the Provisional Government of which a fair number were freemasons. However, the great age of Freemasonry was above all that of the "belle époque", the full flowering of the middle-class, reign of the radicals secular struggle. The G.O.F., officially claimed the majority of statesmen as members during this period, such as the President of the Republic in 1914, their brother Rene Viviani . . . who prepared for war. The freemasons also took positions at certain times: 28th June 1917, the Congress of Allied and Neutral Masons took place in Paris, during the course of which the general outlines of the future "Charter of a League of Nations" were drawn up, promulgated by brother Wilson. On 15th August 1939 the proposed "International Conference for Peace" called for by brother Roosevelt to set up a "Federated Europe" did not take place, Hitler having refused to take part in it.

Some Conclusions:

We have undertaken this brief historical resume in order to come at the end of it to a number of general conclusions:

1) "*Freemasonry is the International of the Middle Class*" M. Bakunin wrote.

Freemasonry was born with the "Age of Enlightenment" and it derived its enlightenment from this period, the period of the Encyclopaedists (yet one must note that D'Alembert, Diderot, Balbach were not, it would seem, freemasons themselves) of the freethinkers, of Voltaire (Freemasonry claims him by giving as the date of his admission into one of the Lodges of Paris – proposed by a canon, moreover, – the 7th April 1778, but omitting to tell us that Voltaire then was 84 years old, and that he died the same year).

In its time, Freemasonry was progressive. It was still in the vanguard of the rising middle-class involved in the French Revolution of 1789-92, and of 1848.

In 1870, (Gambetta was a Freemason, at least for a while) things were the same, just as in the last years of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th. *But it foundered as a progressive force with the exhaustion of the middle class itself*. Even today, with all its "spectrum of studies" it continues in its main extent to be only the expression of the views of the middle class – a sensitive, enlightened, even liberal middle class . . . but in no case is it *progressive in the sense in which we understand progress*. It has never questioned in a serious fashion and with thorough logic the basis of the bourgeois regime, nor envisaged opposing it.

It has never accepted the proletariat as a force or a factor in social progress; it has only accepted a few proletarians more concerned with their pseudo-philosophical preoccupations than their social conscience.

On this point, we cannot then be allied with Freemasonry if we continue to hold that in present-day society the middle-class is responsible for what we reject: capitalism, poverty, class division, oppression, inequality, state bureaucracy, nationalism, militarism etc., . . . The responsibility of Freemasonry here is undeniable, although indirect.

2). However, the responsibility of Freemasonry is also *direct*; not only does it feel itself to be "enlightened" but it proposes to enlighten society with its vision. To this end aided by its evangelistic and proselytizing tendency (not to mention its philosophical bent!) it envisages and puts into practice the tactic of *taking power by infiltration*. It does not refuse power, it seeks it, being sincerely convinced that the freemasons will be the best administrators, the best managers, the best governors in the interests of society. And they actually end up, as they boast themselves, by becoming "good statesmen."

What can the libertarian possibly have to do with such people! It is, of course, clearly an improvement in society, even that of today, if there is relatively more social justice (the Freemasons claim that since the beginning of the century they have worked on legal projects to set up social security schemes, etc.); a more democratic government is relatively more easily tolerated than government by a tyrannical dictatorship. But beyond that, to go to the point of participating in management schemes and projects for social control, and of conscientiously practising the exercise of power, already accepted in principle, is, for every libertarian, to cross an unacceptable divide, an ideological abyss.

3) To safeguard peace between all men is, on the one hand, to ignore *class divisions, class struggle*, and, on the other, to *accept the basis of present day social existence*, whilst still working to alter a few details. We have spoken already elsewhere of the bourgeois character of Freemasonry.

On the basis of these two principles, the *power principle* and the rejection of the capitalist and statist system, and the principle of *classes*, of the difference between classes and the class struggle, we can accept no compromise with Freemasonry, nor with the other "progressive forces", without denying our own libertarian ideal.

This confusion, power/opposition, acceptance/criticism, class/alliance, shows itself at every step, in every action of the Freemasons. How could that well-known search for truth be achieved, for example, if in the same Lodge were to be found Marshal Joffre, Ex-Prefect Baylet, the former King of England, Prince Murat (cousin to Napoleon III) who left the Hotel at 16 Rue Cadet to the G.O.F., and at the same time Voltaire, Mozart, Stendhal, Bolivar etc. This truth will be of necessity a compromise and will therefore not be a real truth at all, nor could it be.

Libertarians and Freemasonry.

It is logical for us to assume that there can be no confusion between libertarians and freemasons. And yet confusion there is, in the minds of some libertarians. Let us take up the debate by looking as it from the other side: libertarians who have participated or who are still participating at one time in both an anarchist movement and a masonic institution invoke – almost always in a rather roundabout way – three different attitudes in their own justification:

1. *Freemasonry "needs to rejuvenate and modernise itself"; it has represented and still represents a progressive element. Therefore:*

" . . . Under no pretext should men of the left or of the extreme left, however impatient and revolutionary they may be, make themselves party to the anti-masonic campaign, even in a passive way. That campaign aims to destroy all the democratic

and proletarian freedoms by hitting at Freemasonry. To combat Freemasonry is to play the clericalist and fascist game. This would be sheer madness. Reactionary gentlemen would do well not to count upon such blindness on our part . . . " (Andre Lorulot - 'For or Against Freemasonry', p.62 - conclusion.)

It is true that Lorulot is above all a free-thinker and that this pamphlet dates from 1935 - the time of the anti-masonic persecution made by the Nazis. But this solidarity between victims is not a sufficient excuse; all the more since Lorulot in that pamphlet does not only believe that.

"... Freemasonry should rejuvenate and modernise itself. It should extend its former limits, eliminate whatever is decrepit, break with the use of rites and phraseology hardly compatible with rationalism. Freemasonry will of course be led to act more "in the open," it will show more courage and militancy in the service of the great struggles which tomorrow will overthrow the old order." (ibid. p.62).

But he is "helping" them to become what he would very much like them to become:

"Freemasons would be very wrong in going easy on clericalists, for the latter do not go easy on them." (p.61).

"... The day will certainly come (and I hope it will be soon) when working-class elements will be much more numerous in the Masonic workshops" . . . (p.51).

"... Today socialists are as numerous as radicals in the Lodges." (p.57).

And Lorulot quotes another author, Pierre de Presseac, who writes:

"... Socialism has transformed Freemasonry. It has stripped it of that ceremonial and closed aspect. It has lowered the subscription rates and to some extent has opened it to all. The organisation has remained the same, the power and extent of it are the same, but traditional Freemasonry has virtually disappeared." (p.58).

Lorulot himself thinks that M. de Pressac "is exaggerating slightly."

2. *The second rationale* is the following: if in the first place, libertarians should not carry on an anti-masonic struggle, in the second place libertarians *should actually join* the movement to give a hand personally with this "transformation." It seems that we may distinguish two kinds of people reasoning in this way:

- those who know neither the true character of anarchism nor that of Freemasonry, hence for these any confusion is possible . . . and no discussion.

- those who map out its limits, are more or less aware of possibilities and impossibilities, and who enter it as one enters an external organisation, to establish a presence in order to spread libertarian thinking within it, making an educative effort.

No discussion is possible with those of the first category, as we have said; they wish at all costs to be in the 'avant garde' in everything, they play at being an 'elite.'

One may try to discuss things with those of the second category: when one is sure of oneself and of the value of one's ideas one can go plant them no matter where "at one's own risk": "if I lose, I alone lose; if I win, the whole movement wins." *That holds.* All the more because of the fact that Freemasonry is not a dogmatic and centralised political party and that free discussion is encouraged there.

We will make only one or two comments: the capability of Freemasonry for change and improvement seems to us to be very limited and already held in check. The only tangible

progress is the suppression of the principle of the Grand Architect of the Universe (Deist principle of the Encyclopaedists and of Voltaire) by the Grand Orient of France. This concerns only one of the masonic observances in France which is not even one which is followed abroad. This compromise has, moreover, been made on the philosophical level in order to combat the obstinacy of the Vatican.

It is certainly true that libertarians, as *free thinkers*, can be accepted into Freemasonry. But what will they find there? - a fragmented society, divided into lodges; "brothers" who outside these lodges are far from being our brothers and more often the opposite.

Influence them - how? and to what end?

Freemasonry demands, like every well-structured, hierarchical and, moreover, secret organisation, an *almost absolute obedience*. How can one reconcile, or arrange for the co-existence of two different disciplines in the same personality - each demanding much from every militant; there is one which is open, the other, secret; one invited you to plunge into the most abstract kind of philosophy conceivable, the other into the most practical activity possible. Which of the two will predominate?

The tactics and praxis of Freemasonry have been since its inception to copy another "secret society" - the Society of Jesus (and of Ignatius Loyola), the *Jesuits*.

"... I will cite a recent and striking example of what a well-united and wise body can carry out: I am referring to the society of the Jesuits; what has that body not brought about? That was of course with the aim of offering up the freedom of men on the altars of superstition and despotism and then offering up this latter achievement in further sacrifice to its own ambition . . . We have completely opposite aims, those of enlightening men and bringing them to freedom and happiness. But we should and we can succeed in this by the same methods which will help us do for good what the Jesuits have already done for the worse!

"Besides, we have infinite advantages over them: no habitual procedure, no external rite which identifies us, no visible leader who might disperse us. At every storm which menaces us we may dive below the surface and reappear in other places and at other times . . ." (Bro. Mirabeau in 1780 - quoted on p.17 of the Trench Mortar no.20).

The attitude of the Catholic militants of the same era was probably the conditioning factor which brought about this battling "in mirror image," this imitation. It is true that Freemasonry showed itself to be more democratic than the Jesuits (the latter have always ranked themselves behind conservatives and reactionaries). Although today the real activity of the Jesuits is limited to a few States and social levels, *the damage they do*, in the collective human spirit, is far from being cured. Why continue to contaminate our ethics, our conduct, our organisation, our attitudes, with this old poison of hypocrisy, of scheming, of ambition, of underhand in-fighting - not only us as individuals but also us as a grouping of individuals. Despite a superficial resemblance between Freemasons and Libertarians, we believe that there exists an essential difference between us in our ethics, in our organisational principles, in our concerns and our respective goals. And we detect a change in conduct with comrades who for perfectly good reasons are obliged to make common cause with Freemasons - open,

or secret, 'Freethinkers,' 'Rights of Man,' or 'Secular Committee.'

The influence of Masonic thought is also perceptible in the reasoning of certain comrades: they wander off more and more into vagueness, their humanism becomes more and more the abstract humanism of the 18th century philosophers, their pretence to knowledge becomes more and more encyclopaedic (which was probably still possible for Diderot or d'Alembert but which is no longer possible for science today), they develop concern for their individual perfection more than they do for the development of our ideas in general. In a word, they consciously or unconsciously help to lessen the originality of libertarian ideas and make them lose their qualities of social relevance, of realistic, militant, proletarian revolutionary soundness.

3. *The third rationale* in favour of Freemasonry, or at least in favour of the possibility of a "double membership" of a Masonic Lodge or of an anarchist organisation, is the following: *we know many libertarians who have been Freemasons* and that has not prevented them from being excellent libertarians. Therefore your position is false.

But how may I know for certain that somebody is a Freemason, in that a Freemason may militate beside me in a libertarian organisation or in an external and comparable organisation for many years without my being able to know, or at least to be quite sure, that he holds full membership in both!

Francisco Ferrer? - Yes, he was probably a Freemason in the sense of free-thinker and, more especially and more accurately, as a pedagogue and educator. *Michael Bakunin?* Yes, he wrote himself that he was - the only libertarian to our knowledge who took an unequivocal position on this with an exact and conscious aim after a brief period of time: "From the 'International of the Bourgeoisie' the proletarian and libertarian revolutionary movement can expect nothing." That he had the courage to make a public statement is all the more significant, for Freemasonry punishes (in principle!) those of its members who divulge its secrets with death. *Malatesta* also took up a clear position (he never was a Mason):

"I believe also myself that Freemasonry and 'Democrats' in general infiltrate our organisations in the hope that we will not be too hostile to them when the time comes for the regime to change." (written 7th March 1932). *Camillo Berneri and Armando Borghi* published, in March 1939, a pamphlet entirely devoted to "Against the Masonic intrigues in the revolutionary camp" (in Italian). Their very polemical work takes as its starting point the stance and activity of a libertarian woman Maria Rygier who was at one and the same time an open Freemason. Berneri also describes Freemasonry as nationalist in 1914 (Trieste, etc.), then, later, financing Mussolini in order to win him over, ending up declaring itself anti-fascist when this same Mussolini attacked it in 1924. Berneri emphasises:

"Happily the Masonic element in the camp of Italian anarchism is quite negligible.

But there is a considerable minority of anarchists who, enticed by the hope of 'large scale action', allowed themselves to be attracted into the political arena of this equivocal antifascism which ended up with the Garibaldi legions (a nationalist movement for the re-linking of Trieste and Dalmatia which became antifascist . . . after 1924, - Translator's note), then with various movements

which were more or less secret, and who are now pulling in their nets." (Berneri — p.32).

Berneri concludes like Bakunin:

"Freemasonry supports every movement which can aid the middle class and fights everything which can harm it."

Some 'comrades', probably 'brothers', tell us often that Proudhon, Elysee Reclus, Sebastien Faure, Voline etc., were Freemasons. It is possible, but not certain, for they never confirmed it themselves to our knowledge. But what is more probable is that in the libertarian movement, alongside other syndicalist, individualist and similar preoccupations, there has always existed a tendency veering towards humanist-romantic phraseology, metaphysical preoccupations, concerns more speculative than social and revolutionary, a tendency to blur the ideological struggles, the clash of ideas, in envisaging "syntheses" (Voline, Faure), forgetting the nature of the classes in society and our position vis-a-vis these classes — in a word, presenting confusions more Masonic than libertarian.

The Secrets of the Masons

We have not lingered on other aspects of Freemasonry such as its "secret" character, its "rites", its obsession with myth — this kind of thing is for us a very secondary matter. It is necessary to say something, however, of this aspect.

The closed and secret aspect of Freemasonry is an old tale which today scares nobody; on the contrary, after the numerous revelations, publications and exposures, both anti and pro-Masonic, public opinion tends now to consider Freemasons as "sweet and inoffensive loonies" (which is, moreover, false: the influence and role of the Masons are less, but still exist). Freemasonry is not secret, but rather *closed, clandestine and initiatory*: the list of their High Council is laid before the authorities every year, some of their publications are easy to get hold of, they take part in discussion on the radio. The major newspapers recently published the result of the election for Grand Master (J. Mitterand, for the G.O.F.). Their outward/inward character is explained in practice by the struggle they have had since their beginnings with the Catholic Church (the Vatican has published several "bulls" against the Masons), against one section of opinion, their taste for mystery, their metaphysical pretension, (the origin of the Temple of Solomon, the Crusaders, etc.). This is more of an initiatory characteristic: the principles of the chosen, the elite, of degree, of setting apart etc. . . . which are in reality very far from democratic. The Freemasons are not the only more or less secret society: the Trades Unions, the Carbonari, the Cagoule, the Synarchie, . . . the O.A.S., to cite but a few.

The libertarian movement, without being secret or asking for initiation, is often obliged for political reasons to be more or less under cover. Even when conditions for a limited legality are possible, there always exists, as in every revolutionary movement, the necessity of secret work in the movement itself.

Let us pause a moment here. The habit of living secretly, of "watching over" the purity of a movement and of "directing" its line of conduct, brings to the mind of every individual certain changes which are above all ethical in nature. They are imperceptible: one starts with impeccable conduct derived from "pure" motives and a quiet conscience, one is working for the happiness of mankind . . . Steadily, the individual identifies himself with the movement, and

from necessity and reasoning one passes to myth, one symbolises truth in the movement, and fidelity . . . then one single truth and one sole fidelity, exclusiveness, intolerance, expulsion, control and centralism.

This phenomenon is strongest when it is tied to that of power: privileges, honour, pomp, vanity, circumstance — these accelerate this process. But even when there is no question of power, when one is even in principle against power, it is not easy for an individual to escape easily from this myth-making, this self-identification, this becoming a symbol, this glorification. It must be something arising from the basic nature of the human mind. We have seen it take the form of a secret group in our own anarchist federation: the O.P.B. ("Organisation, Thought, Struggle")/"Organisation, Pensée, Bataille" — the book by Berneri) around 1950 (but uncovered particularly by the "memorandum" of the Kronstadt Group of 1954): a group created by certain militants to combat the "lack of organisation" trend in the federation. One may accept the rigour, the "pure intentions", the sincere desire to struggle for a constructive and renewed anarchism. But some comrades were not able to avoid (yes, they themselves, carried them very far from their point of departure, lost them to the movement and provoked a crisis in it which could hardly put itself to rights, which discouraged and disgusted many sincere comrades; it is therefore an important question but one which has made us digress from our subject. In any case, as far as we are concerned, we are desperately distrustful not only of the possible corruption of secret organisations but also of the convolutions of mind of individuals who love to play at secrecy and occult leadership.

As regards the "rituals," the "carnival," the "jargon," "the mystique of the fairground," we hardly have any wish to talk about it: it is medieval. But it would seem that even in the age of rationalism, materialism and science certain human beings still retain a nostalgia for the magic world of their childhood, whether it be historic or personal.

The mania for myth-making, the necessity of appropriating the greatest names in history for more than two centuries, also plays its part in this megalomaniac nexus and shows their nostalgia for the past. The list of famous men claimed as Freemasons is impressive; some years ago the G.O.F., devoted several special broadcasts on the radio to them . . . We are able neither to verify nor to deny the accuracy of the claims as to their membership of the Freemasons but it is part and parcel of their secrecy and their folklore and serves to allure those who cannot live except in the company of famous men, even though they are dead.

As for internal differences and trends within Freemasonry, and for the history of these tendencies and their struggle in France and in the World Union, that is a Masonic business which has very little direct relevance to us. One may simply say that, broadly speaking, in France, the Grand Orient is relatively more "left-wing" than the Grand Lodge, at least as regards the secularist and anti-clerical struggle and the alignment with and recruitment of democrats.

Conclusion

Our conclusion is the same as that of our comrades who edited no.5 of *Noir et Rouge* which was concerned with Free-

masonry. We consider anarchist and Masonic membership and activity to be incompatible. Freemasonry was, at least at the beginning, the particular organisation involved in the 1789 Revolution, in its role as the spearhead of the bourgeoisie.

Today it is living on its past, it is out of joint with what is happening now, it takes part in a more or less conscious and complete way in the bourgeois order.

The anarchist rejects the bourgeois and capitalist order and struggles against it, against class divisions, against the middle class, he cannot therefore in any circumstances mimic the conscious statists of this regime. The mingling of the two concepts in the activity of a militant leads to a partial or total abandonment of our ideas, a tendency towards weakening of the movement, for ideologically this mixture is an absurdity. Theo. (October 1962).

The problem of freemasonry and anarchism was considered sufficiently important in French anarchist circles to be raised again in issue No. 27 of "Noir et Rouge" (June '64).

Freemasonry and Anarchism

"Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme Libertaire" ("Papers on Libertarian Humanism") of February 1964 (no.99) published on page 10 an article "On the subject of Freemasonry" which calls into question our study of the same subject that appeared one year earlier (re-published above). We shall state before anything else that we do not wish to avoid discussion, indeed, on the contrary: we prefer clear statements, even if they are in complete disagreement with our own, rather than indirect and unreasoned insinuations. "Libertarian Humanism" has chosen open discussion and we should be pleased about it.

We wish to reply to several questions:

— Are we "young commentators" who, with our "juvenile stubbornness" play at being "legislators" fixing the norms which tomorrow will be obligatory "forgetting" that which does not fit in with our attitudes?

— Does Freemasonry constitute a progressive force today?

— Can anarchists usefully participate in this work?

— Should one show solidarity with Freemasonry as a "persecuted" element?

— What can be said of the attitude of Bakunin towards this subject?

THE FIRST QUESTION: is the easiest to refute: we have never made the least claim to being legislators, to imposing anything at all, to admitting or excluding. It is enough to run through the pages of N. & R., to see this. The accusation of being "young" and of wishing at the same time to "think through" anarchism is the most serious; in the same issue of "Libertarian Humanism" two pages further on the editors regret that they are only two in number and that they are not younger; they thus do not understand that with this paternalistic spirit and this refusal of others' rights to an opinion — above all, the young — they can only end up where they have. (1).

But at bottom it is not so much the age question that brings prejudice against "Black and Red", it is rather the fact that we sign our articles collectively, that we refuse to accept a well-known "egg-head" who can lay the law down. Collective anonymity is indeed not found very frequently in an environment where, on the contrary, one displays one's personality at its best . . .

We expressed ourselves at sufficient length in our study of *The Progressive Character of Freemasonry* in its beginnings, which correspond with the rise of the middle class and the struggle against the power of the church; that this progressive aspect counted for something in the Revolution of 1789 and also in those of 1830 and 1848, in the universal suffrage, in the separation of Church and State, etc., is certain; a series of books on Freemasonry has appeared recently and they will not contradict this claim.

But we have our doubts (it's not a question of laws or norms) about the progressive character of Freemasonry today, precisely because it has not been able to adapt to new realities such as the working class, socialism, opposition to capitalism etc., through the fact of its essential nature. Or, more exactly, it does adapt very well, but remains on the other side of the barricade – on the side of power, of free enterprise, of unrestricted initiative, which in the social order of today means on the side of capitalism and exploitation.

We do not doubt the good intentions of such and such a "brother," but organically he cannot go farther than his good intentions.

Although the principle of class struggle may be questioned by many anarchists, it is still valuable to us, at least in the sense of preventing us from being in the same Lodge as the Prefect of Police or our own Boss, for example.

Strictly speaking, one may admit "that an anarchist who is self-aware can make a positive contribution in no matter what environment" (some comrades have even found a contradiction in our previous article because we tried there to envisage that possibility). Each comrade is free to make his own decisions, all the more so since membership of the Freemasons is secret (once again the issue of Anarchist Morality!) and that poses a few good problems.

It seems to us that anarchist efforts are better utilised in many other more realistic situations, more open and less compromised with Power: the Trade Unions, the peasant and workers' struggles, education, secularism, the co-operative movement, family planning, local cultural movements, the youth movements, the pacifist movements, the underdeveloped countries, etc., etc.

Solidarity With The Persecuted And The Victims: it is true that Freemasonry has been persecuted by all the authoritarian regimes. Perhaps, because these regimes are above all based on conspiracy and secret cells themselves, they fear that these same proven methods will be employed by others.

There was a time when it was sufficient to shout "who wants to die for liberty" and all the revolutionaries appeared on all the barricades. Thus the anarchists paid heavy sacrifices which did not result in very much, at least in immediate terms; if one is going to fight, one must today choose one's allies more carefully.

And after all, Freemasons have not been as persecuted as all that, at least under the regime here. At their last conference, the platform was decorated with their symbolic insignia and even government ministers took part. The conflict between the Church and Freemasonry is not what it was a century ago, at the last Vatican Council II, the Church Representative from Central America openly posed the issue of a more understanding attitude towards Freemasonry.

Besides, not to agree, or to refuse to fraternise, with Freemasonry does not mean, at least to us, that one must exterminate it (that's a comical way of imagining the anarchists).

If the authors of "On the subject of Freemasonry" think they will "shut our traps" by their knowledge of *Bakunin*, one may indeed say they are far from the mark: study of Bakunin is a constant source of interest for us; perhaps we do not yet know him all that well, agreed, but sufficiently well to be able to discuss him.

We have never had, in any case, an attitude of idolatry, even towards Bakunin; he could be wrong (and he did in fact make mistakes on certain questions) and we have no need of seeking him to hide our own weaknesses behind him.

It is certain that for a while Bakunin belonged to the Freemasons. But when, how, where and for how long it is impossible to say. The comrades from "Libertarian Humanism" say that Bakunin's father was a Freemason (2). It was probably during his stay in Italy and in France, at the end of the 18th century. Arthur Lehning writes, in the first volume of the "Bakunin Archives" (ed. 1960, p.XVI), that "Bakunin had been initiated as a Mason in 1845; he had asked to be relieved of the position in Germany in 1848" (he gives two sources for this information). Malatesta in an article in *Umanita Nova* (7th Oct. 1920) places the period from 1864-65.

At any rate, it is established that as soon as Bakunin came ashore at Florence, on the 27th of January 1864, he established contact with Italian Freemasonry, above all with Giuseppe Dolfi, Giuseppe Mazzoni and Nicolo Io Savio, from the Lodge "Social Progress" (*Il Progresso Sociale*) (v. Lehning, *ibid.* p.XVI).

It is also established that around this period (1865) Bakunin presented a written draft at his Lodge: "Principles and Organisation of the International Revolutionary Society" which was refused (a section of the text of this manuscript is lost, a section can be found in the Works, vol. III in German).

It seems to us, proven therefore, that Bakunin was a Freemason. There is also no doubt that in 1869 he no longer was one; for at that period he published in the journal "Progress" in Locle dated 1st March 1869 (the ms. is signed 23 Feb. 1869) a letter addressed "To the Comrades of the A.I.T. of Locle and of La Chaux-de-Fonds." This publication is continued through several numbers (from 1st March 1869 to 2 October 1869) and was gathered together afterwards under the title "The History of the Bourgeoisie and the Origin of Patriotism". The same text was later re-run under the title "Letters on Patriotism" (in French, Vol. I; in Russian, Vol. 4, in German Vol. 2). This text is well-known and does not need recalling for the editors of "Libertarian Humanism". The comrades who published the first study of Freemasonry in N.R. reproduced a passage from it (N.R. no.7, pp.124-126); we shall content ourselves by reproducing an extract from it for our readers:

"One would be very much in error if one judged the Freemasonry of last century, or even the Freemasonry of the beginning of the present century, by what it is today. A supremely middle-class institution in its development, through its increasing power to begin with and later in its decadence, Freemasonry has represented to some extent the

development, the power and the decadence of the middle-class intellectually and morally. Brought low today to the sad role of a scheming old woman in her dotage, Freemasonry is a nullity and useless, occasionally harmful and always ridiculous." (Bakunin quoted in N.R. no. 7, p.125).

The hypothesis according to which the workers' proletarian movement (the International of the period) and the Social Revolution have played out their role, and that even Bakunin in his last years perceived this – is only a hypothesis which, even today, is not proven..

In our study on Freemasonry we quoted the opinion of Malatesta. Since doing so, we have found additional quotations which we add here, although they may be a little late for the discussion, yet for the reason that, inspired by Bakunin, Malatesta repeated the same moves:

"I was a Freemason when I was a younger chap than I am now, from 19th October 1875 to March/April 1876... I did not wish to submit to the ridiculous initiation rites and I knew that they would be applied to me. In short, they wanted to have me at any price, and in the end I accepted... for the additional reason that the idea came to me to repeat the unhappy experiment of Bakunin to bring back Freemasonry to its original idealistic beginnings and to make of it a truly revolutionary society (1864-5).

I soon noticed that I was merely serving the interests of certain brothers, who were the biggest obscurantists...

But I met there some young enthusiasts who were accessible to socialist ideas and I remained to make propaganda among them, which I did to the scandal and outrage of the principle personalities." (*Umanita Nova*, 7, Oct. 1920, quoted by Max Nettlau: "Errico Malatesta", Buenos Aires, 1923. pp.91-2).

Luigi Fabri, who recalls this same fact in his book on Malatesta (ed. Buenos Aires, 1945) writes that when Malatesta had left the Freemasons, "he fought Freemasonry always as his most intransigent adversary." (p.72).

We hope that we shall not have to keep returning to this subject except to bring something truly positive to the discussion. But above all, we hope to be understood (even if the comrades do not share one or another of our positions) in a spirit of enquiry.

In any case, we have said – and we will repeat – our differences of opinion with the comrades of "Libertarian Humanism" should not prevent us from having good relations with each other.

Noir et Rouge.

(Translated by Geoff Charlton)

(1) N.D.L.R. A comrade from "Noir et Rouge" insists that he has white hair.

(2) We have checked the "Biographical Index of the Russian Freemasons of the 18th and 19th centuries" – a large volume edited in French in 1940, in Russian in 1934-5 – of Tatiana Bakunin (a relative of Bakunin's who presented a thesis in Paris in 1929 – not his sister, who died in 1871). There exist only two Bakunins among the Russian Freemasons: Alexander Pavlovich Bakunin (1797-1860), officer, civil administrator (Governor of Tver, 1840-53) and Vasilie Mikhailovich Bakunin (1795-1863), also an officer. The father of Bakunin, Alexander Mikhailovich, is not mentioned. As his name indicates, the second Freemason mentioned is probably a near relation of M. Bakunin.



George Cheitanov

A SHORT HISTORY OF ANARCHISM IN BULGARIA

A small country of five and a half million population, Bulgaria is a homogeneous nation, with a good balance between mountains, hills and watered plains, but possessing only one outlet to the sea (on the Black Sea). It is a country of small peasant proprietors, hard working and persistent. Eighty three per cent of the population lives by agriculture; 85 per cent of the cultivated land is farmed in units of less than 25 acres, and the most common land measure is the decare (a quarter of an acre); Bulgarian agriculture is really a kind of gardening. Cultivation of grain ranks first: wheat then corn; and a great variety of warm-climate crops: orchards, vineyards, tobacco, sunflowers, flax and hemp, cotton, poppies, mulberries (silk worm culture), roses, truck gardening; and cattle raising.

Industry has developed mostly since the first World War: textiles, tobacco manufacturing, milling, sugar refining, distillation of attar of roses. In a normal year, agriculture not only provides Bulgaria's food requirements, but it is also the basis of its industry. In addition Bulgaria gets enough lignite for its own use from the Pernik and Bobov Dol mines, and even exports some copper, lead and zinc.

When tied in with certain characteristics of the history of the people, these basic economic facts take on a particular significance, for every stage in the development of a people is consistent with its past. Historical and social factors dating from the Middle Ages, associated with specific economic forms, have encouraged the practice of mutual

aid and the love of liberty, and have given the anarchist movement deep roots in the past and a distinctly anarchist-communist colouring.

Thus the spirit of the peasant commune, the slavish *zadruga* (brotherhood) that existed through the Middle Ages and for over a thousand years, still survives in the spontaneous practice, among small peasant proprietors, of communal work and co-operative association. The peasant commune once held the land collectively, the *zadruga* comprised 50 to 100 and even 250 members. Today there are still communities of 15 to 30 persons where parents, sons and descendants live together and cultivate their lands in common.

Feudalism, arising in the 9th and 10th centuries, dealt the death blow to this primitive communism.

The present day communal pasture and woods, the tradition of communal labour, are sturdy lasting traces of primitive communism in the social and economic life of the people. Each year companies of gardeners are formed and travel through the countryside; groups of harvesters descend from northern Bulgaria and the mountain villages into the plains of southern Bulgaria to gather the crops; groups of building and transport workers are formed; all this is collective labour. In many villages the threshing of wheat is still done, as from time immemorial, essentially on the work principles of the *zadrugas*. Corn-husking is a communal, festive occasion; spinning parties, mutual aid in building homes, are every-day events in the life of the Bulgarian village.

Thus it is not accidental that the co-operative movement is very powerful and that in these last years co-operatives to work the land collectively have developed rapidly and achieved great success.

But the movement of particular importance and great historical consequences, not only for Bulgaria, but for the cultural renaissance of Europe as well, was Bogomilism – a movement of the Middle Ages of a distinctly anarchist character.

Bogomilism, a heresy of oriental origin preached by a Bulgarian priest, Jeremiah Bogomil, developed among the impoverished peasant masses at the beginning of the 10th century. It represented social revolt against feudalism, and defence of the peasant commune by passive resistance. As a religion Bogomilism was unoriginal: a mixture and recasting of dualist doctrines and heresies derived from the Orient. But socially it was entirely original: a purely Bulgarian and Yugoslav movement whose revolutionary ideology was (for that time) definitely anti-statist. Categorically and unequivocally, the Bogomiles repudiated all authority: economic (the rich and their wealth), political (the State and the Boyard government), religious (the church and its dogmas and clergies).

Their clandestine writings express modern social ideas that could be inserted without change into the programmes of present-day anarchist movements. The Bogomiles covered all Bulgaria with a network of communes and practiced the principles of free communism.

Manol Vassev, an almost legendary figure in the Bulgarian revolutionary movement due to his untiring commitment to the class struggle. His real name was Jordan Sotirov, but he adopted the former when he was forced into clandestinity after a shop floor struggle spanning 22 years.



After three centuries of war, Bogomilism was exterminated in Bulgaria by fire and sword. But it passed the frontiers and spread into Bosnia and Italy under the names of Patarins and the Cathari, and influenced the Albigenses in France. In Western Europe it prepared the ground for the Renaissance and Reformation.

Bulgaria remained under Turkish domination for five centuries (1393 to 1877). The Bulgarians' servitude was double: political toward the Turks and religious toward the Greeks. Dark ages. But, as always and everywhere, slavery gave birth to revolt and struggle. Political and social conditions unfortunately did not lend themselves to creation of a well co-ordinated social movement. Hence the struggle took the character of individual revolt: the Haiducks, a kind of bandit comparable to the heroes of Schiller's "The Brigands."

The Haiduck movement began in the 15th and 16th centuries; few at first, they became legion. They long preserved the characteristics of individual revolt, of professional semi-banditry, much like Stenka Razin in Russia. Though their revolt later acquired a clearly social character, they could never completely free themselves of the methods of individual struggle.

The great influence of the Haiduk movement on the political and social life of the Bulgarian people is reflected in popular poetry. There the Haiduk is depicted as a romantic hero, combatting violence and exploitation, defending the poor, a sworn enemy of *tchorbadjis* (great landowners and nobles), monopolists and Turkish tyranny. He is a symbol of disinterestedness and love, of limitless self-sacrifice for the people and for liberty. The working masses and their hatred for *tchorbadjis*, exploiters and oppressors formed the social basis of the Haiduk movement. Its historical importance lay in preserving and safeguarding among the oppressed working people the tradition of independence, the spirit of courage, and the hope of coming liberation; and in this way it prepared the first phase of the revolutionary movement.

Directly linked with the Haiduk movement was the "national-revolutionary" movement that emerged during the 19th century and laid the basis of intellectual, cultural and political revival.

This movement was supported by three social forces: the artisans' and merchants' guilds that

developed during the 17th and 18th centuries in the villages and cities of the lower Balkans; the poor and oppressed peasants of the same regions; and the progressive "intelligentsia," especially teachers, of whom the disciples of the Russian socialists of the 1860 period were the vanguard.

The rebirth passed through three principal phases:

1. An intellectual renaissance (1830 - 1840) whose chief accomplishment was the founding of ecclesiastical schools.

2. The struggle for independence of the Bulgarian church (1805 to 1860), culminating in establishment of an independent church and liberation from spiritual servitude to the Greeks (constitution of the exarchate in 1870).

3. A revolutionary movement that developed around 1870 and had both a national-liberation and a purely social character.

The last phase of the Bulgarian revival - the revolutionary movement - has direct influence on the present-day Anarchist movement in Bulgaria.

When the national-revolutionary movement arose, the national problems of Western Europe were nearly all solved and social problems already occupied a primary place. For this reason the national-revolutionary movement was strongly influenced by the socialism of the First International and developed a strong socialist tendency. The first militants of the national-revolutionary movement had been influenced by Russian revolutionists, Bakunin first of all. Cristo Botev, Bulgaria's greatest poet, was the most remarkable revolutionist of the period. He died heroically at the head of a company of partisans in the mountains, 2 June, 1876, two years before the national emancipation. He had studied in Russia, had lived in Rumania with Nechaeff. A disciple of Proudhon and Bakunin, a revolutionist and journalist of great breath, he is today the national hero, the inspiration of Bulgarian youth among whom his deeply moving works have long kindled the flame of idealism and revolutionary social struggle.

In addition to these traditions, the Anarchist movement was favoured by the social and economic structure of the country: the proletariat is small, and small peasant proprietors comprise the largest class by far. Just because of the family character of agriculture, and the extreme dividing up of land, the peasants constituted a working class exploited by crushing taxes and disposed to ideas of liberty, independence and mutual aid.

Finally, one more important factor: the Bulgarians' extreme attachment to liberty.

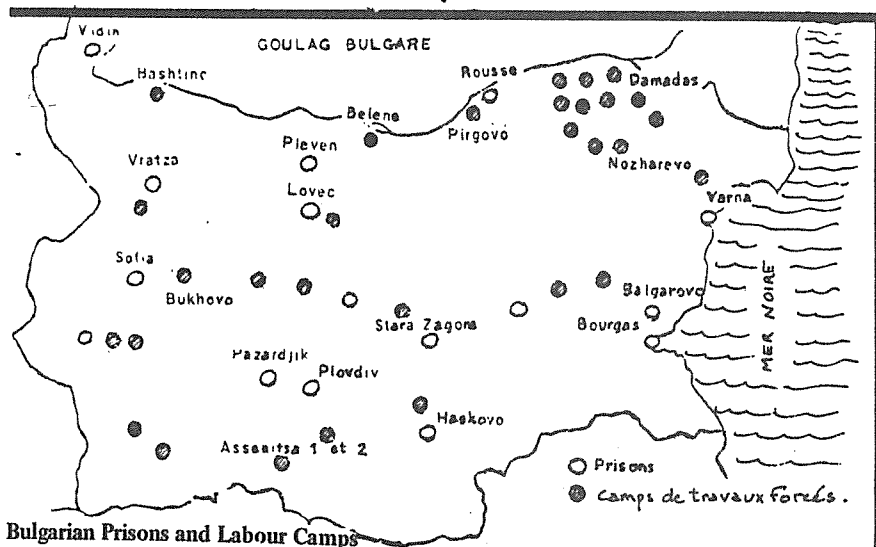
Nevertheless, during the first years after the liberation, until 1923, anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism had only a moderate growth: the influence of Russian terrorism and French "individualism," the Haiduk heritage of individualist action, were irresistible; the elite of Bulgaria's proletarians and intellectuals perished in the struggle. In addition, much of their energy went into the national-revolutionary movement of the Macedonians. Thus the Bulgarian revolutionary movement was deprived of a host of courageous men, a very grave loss; but for all that, this activity was a precious contribution to the Balkan struggles for liberation. The pioneers of this movement were Anarchists, and the Bulgarian public knows that the Macedonian national-revolutionary movement is principally the work of the Bulgarian Anarchists whose clear understanding of the national revolutionary movement never allowed them to isolate the struggle for Bulgarian nation liberation from the social struggle.

Finally, if we can see the retarding effects of terrorism on the growth of the Anarchist movement in the first part of the 20th century, we can see too that the very participation of Anarchists in this action is the basis of the high opinion of anarchism in Bulgaria, for this action was in the spirit of the historical traditions; the unparalleled courage, idealism and self-sacrifice of these great revolutionary figures has drawn the popular masses to anarchism.

During this period, the Socialist movement was equally stagnant: when the Russian Social Democratic party split at the beginning of the century, the Bulgarian Social Democracy also split in two. Partisans of united political action by workers and small peasant proprietors formed (in imitation of the Russians) the clearly opportunistic "Shiroki" Social-Democratic party. Partisans of the conception that the proletariat alone can be a revolutionary class in the Marxist sense formed the "Tensi" Social-Democratic party, verbally revolutionary, actually also opportunistic and electoralist.

At this time the Agrarian Union also absorbed many militants. At first the Agrarian Union was an economic movement of peasants with very advanced co-operative and socialistic tendencies. Later the trend toward participation in political struggles took hold and transformed the Union into a political party, the strongest in the country after the first World War.

Other political parties in Bulgaria at the end of the first World War were the Liberal Party and the Democratic Party - undistinguishable except for phraseology, taking power by turns as the King willed - and an insignificant Radical Party



anxious to take its place among them. There was nothing very democratic, liberal or progressive about any of the three, all servants of the King who vied with each other in repressions against the people. Finally, the most reactionary party, the Narodisak, the party of the big capitalists, although not numerous, exerted great influence on political and economic life. That most of the clergy and nearly all the active and reserve officers of the army were its watchdogs was demonstrated in the coup d'état of June 9, 1923, and the bloody repressions that followed.

The first World War marked a new beginning in the development of the anarchist-inspired revolutionary movement.

Some groups existed before the war, but the movement had been unable to work out a general plan of propaganda and action to reach all sections of the population. The activities of groups were of an individual character: some published pamphlets and books, others were active in the Agrarian Union, others tried unsuccessfully to build a Revolutionary Syndicalist movement. Among high school and university students, Anarchist ideas found their most favoured reception; organised refusal to pay taxes, at Chabla and Duran Kulak, developed into a peasant insurrection; a general strike in the colleges spread throughout the country; finally, in this period, the newspaper *Rabotnicheska Missal* (Workers' Thought), which became the organ of the Anarchist Federation after the war, appeared as the voice of Revolutionary Syndicalism.

During the first World War the Bulgarian government abandoned neutrality to ally itself with the Central Powers. Many Anarchists, judging the war imperialist, refused to fight; some were shot at the front, others in prison. When Bulgaria entered the war, Alexander Stambuliyski, leader of the Agrarian Union, was imprisoned in the Sofia central prison for denouncing King Ferdinand and as a traitor. He liked to talk to the imprisoned Anarchists, enjoyed their company. After the war, as President of the Council, he declared in his famous disclosure from the balcony of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that power and the State corrupt the most moral individual, and he advised precautions. When the police arrested the audience at a meeting in the Sofia anarchist club, he went, as soon as he learned of it, to release them before the police could employ the form of assassination known as "attempt to escape."

But two years later he was himself corrupted by power and initiated a vast campaign of repression in which many anarchists were assassinated and anarchist clubs burned.

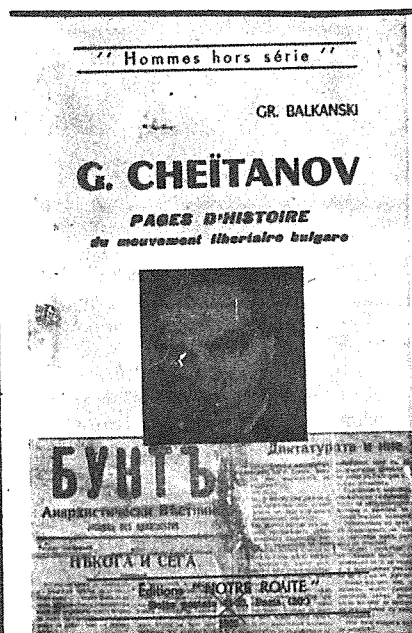
Sober and hard working, the Bulgarian people have little love for the State or for governments. Many popular songs express their deep love of liberty and admiration of the Haidiks, those valiant guerrillas who always gave battle to oppressors and exploiters. The three years of war overflowed the cup of suffering: the people warned the government to sign a separate peace, or else the soldiers would leave the front. The warning went unheeded, and in September, 1918, front-line soldiers deserted en masse and, keeping their arms, set out for the capital to punish the war-makers and especially King Ferdinand — who had abdicated and fled to safety in Germany before their arrival. The subsequent debacle was not thought of as a great national misfortune, quite the opposite; politicians and speculators had enriched themselves scandalously on the war and the "national ideal." The popular masses gave free expression to their discontent and their desire to revolt against not only the profiteers and the war but the bourgeois regime as well. Stambuliyski, who now came to power, enjoyed tremendous popularity, especially among the

peasants, by virtue of his gesture against the King; he believed he could dam up the threatening revolution by dividing the popular masses, country against city, and accomplish a kind of preventive counter-revolution by provoking conflicts between them.

The Russian revolution, whose progress the proletariat followed with enthusiasm, further bolstered the revolutionary spirit.

In this atmosphere the Bulgarian Anarchist Communist Federation was formed, and its influence never ceased to grow.

In September 1919, delegates from anarchist groups met in national conference and founded the Federation of Anarchist Communists in Bulgaria. Under pressure of events all those who had hitherto preferred to devote themselves exclusively to the peasant co-operative movement, to the trade union movement, to the cultural movement and to local propaganda, or even to individual activity, came to realise the urgent need for a federalist organisation that would, by joint study of their problems, co-ordinate educational propaganda and mass organisation with a view to defence of



The frontispiece of a life of Cheitanov written by Gr. Balkanski and published by "Notre Route", the Bulgarian anarchist publishing group in Paris.

the immediate interests of the people and the creation of a better society.

The first conference unified the anarchist-inspired revolutionary movement and gave it powerful impetus.

Intensive propaganda, and increasing participation by militants in social agitation and strike activity, popularised anarchist ideas and tactics. The movement lacked old militants, it lacked experience, but initiative made up for that. To spread their ideas among the people and take part in the struggle for freedom, many high school and university students left school and became workers. The number of sympathisers increased daily, apace with increasingly severe government repression, particularly at the time of the transport strike. From an insignificant movement of small groups and closed circles, the anarchist inspired revolutionary movement was developing into a mass movement. The four Regional Unions arranged regular educational speaking tours and propaganda meetings in all cities and villages. The Federation itself was secret and restricted to militants. Public activity took the form of social studies' groups,

semi-syndicalist producers' groups, and combat groups.

In January, 1923, the Fifth Congress, the first and only public (but illegal) anarchist congress, was held at Jambol; the previous congresses had all been held secretly in the mountains. The congress concluded with a meeting in the town square. At Jambol the movement clearly defined its ideology, tactics and organisation in clearly anarchist-communist terms. Delegates from all over the country reported their organisational and propaganda accomplishments of their respective groups. In Jambol itself, in Nova Zagora, Khaskovo, Kyustendil, Radomir, Kilijarevo and Delebits the majority of the workers were affiliated with the anarchist movement. Great progress was being made at Plovdiv, Sofia, Burgas, Russe, etc.

The quickening of governmental repression against the workers' movement, and especially against the anarchist movement, preoccupied the congress. Once in power, Stambuliyski — president of the Agrarian Union and simultaneously President of the government — had begun to prosecute the Leftists and support the Rightists. His Prefect of Police, Prudkin, of Russian origin and obscure past, manufactured *attentats* to justify reprisals against the workers' movement. Several Communist halls and Houses of the People were burned. To the anarchists Prudkin applied the system of attempted escape: when he considered a militant too "bothersome," he had him arrested and shot in the back of the head; to the press it was announced that such a dangerous individual had been killed attempting to escape. These assassinations became repeated, frequent; a vast fascist-reactionary offensive was obviously under way. This the statements of agrarian militants confirmed. The fascists were presenting the governments with accomplished facts. From careless talk it was also known that in the Macedonian Autonomist Organisation and the Military League something ominous was going on.

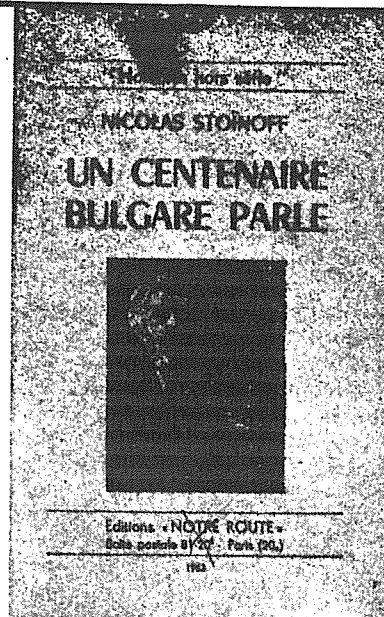
Fascism in Power

It was the eve of decisive events. At the forefront of the struggle, the Anarchists were the first aware of the danger. Against 90 per cent of the population, the reactionary 10 per cent would not have been so dangerous, had the people been armed; and the Anarchists raised the slogan "Armed the People." But they alone understood the new situation, they alone proposed arming the people, the only effective defence against the rising fascism. For all their revolutionary phraseology, the Communist leaders had been won over to electoral opportunism. Already, in 1919-1920, when the revolutionary pressure of the people threatened to overthrow the capitalist regime, the Communist leader and theoretician, Dmitri Blugoff, propounded the famous thesis of the "three fourths from abroad" — so thoroughly did Blugoff misjudge the revolutionary energy of the Bulgarian people who each day gave proof of their determination to put an end to the capitalist regime. The reactionary bourgeoisie took note, redoubled its manoeuvres designed to divide the popular masses.

Similarly, instead of following the example of those who were forming combat groups and demanding that the people be armed, the Communists kept on with their noisy, short sighted propaganda. The Agrarians, intoxicated by power, did not take the fascist danger seriously; their leaders hunted for ways to aggravate the disunity of the masses, and thought of nothing else but of crushing the Communists and Anarchists; they did organise a combat formation, the "orange guard," but it was intended as an instrument of repression against strikers and against demonstrations by workers and revolutionary peasants. The Socialists were the most confused of all the leftist groups — so confused that when the fascist



Nicolas Stoinov



One of the first propagandists of the anarchist idea in Bulgaria was Nicolas Stoinov, a primary school teacher active in the trade union movement. He is also remembered as one of the first conscientious objectors in his country. Stoinov has left an interesting account of his life which was translated into French and published by "Notre Route".

coup d'etat began some of them, under Dimo Kasasoff participated in the fascist project, and Dimo Kasasoff joined the government of the sinister Professor Tzankoff.

Of the revolutionary groups the Anarchists were the most clear-sighted and aggressive. Fearing that a coup d'etat would rally all anti-fascist resistance around the anarchist movement, the fascist leaders decided to utilise their secret agents in the police, and especially their secret League of Regular Army Officers, to liquidate the anarchist movement before attempting the coup.

On March 26, 1923, the anarchist movement convoked the workers of Yamboli to a meeting in the central square of the town to protest the assassinations of militants and to demand the arming of the people. The meeting was forbidden by the military commander; at the appointed hour the square was occupied by troops and troops were posted at strategic points in the town. In small groups, the Anarchists were succeeding in reaching the square; some were already there, including the designated speaker. Judging the moment here, he climbed up on a bench and began to talk. After a single warning, the commander gave the troops the order to fire. At the first volley, the speaker and other comrades were wounded. The audience, instead of running to safety, replied so energetically to pistol and grenade that it was the troops who had to flee. A furious battle lasted two hours. The two regiments stationed in the city were insufficient, the commander had to bring up a regiment of heavy artillery from a town nearby. In spite of the Anarchists' courage and boldness, the superiority of numbers and above all of arms was crushing. They decided to cease fire and scatter under cover of night. Nevertheless the soldiers captured 26 of them and took them to the barracks. Toward midnight, in the barracks courtyard, in a row, facing levelled machine guns, they waited calmly, defiantly. A superior officer arrived, commanded: "Let those who are Anarchists take three steps forward." As one man, the whole line advanced three steps. The officers gave the machine-gunners the order to fire. The 26 men were cut down by bullets and the veil of night covered their corpses. No one would have known

how they were assassinated, without trial or sentence; but, among the victims, the student Obretenoff, wounded, profiting by darkness, managed to crawl through the barbed wire that surrounded the barracks; he reached the hospital where he told what had happened. Among the frightened attendants someone denounced him, and within an hour soldiers came looking for him to finish him off. But the truth was known. The following day the military again succeeded in capturing militants, and shot them. All others hid out in the towns, neighbouring villages, and the mountains. The same morning, before the news could arrive, troops invaded the Sofia Anarchists hall where a meeting was going on and arrested everybody. But finally the Anarchists of all Bulgaria were alerted and took their precautions.

How did public opinion react to this massacre and these fascist proceedings? The assassins of Yamboli were protected by the government, and, to divert attention from himself, Stambuliyski went in person to Sofia to liberate prisoners. Before the Anarchists' magnificent example of courage and self-sacrifice, the Communist press did not modify its customary hostility; the young Communist militant, G. Stoinoff of Yamboli, could no longer stomach the attitude of his party, and committed suicide. The Communists, whose influence on the masses was greater, did not think this struggle important. The bourgeois parties were silent, they understood that the first phase of their fascist offensive had begun.

From then on, events hurry forward: three months later, on June 9, comes the coup d'etat against the Stambuliyski Agrarian government, but mainly against the working class and the revolutionary movement. Embracing representatives of all the bourgeois parties and the Socialist Party, controlling the Military League and the Macedonian Autonomist Organisation and organisations of reserve officers and non-commissioned officers, the Zveno circle — the same that since the "liberation" has shared power with the Communists — successfully executed the coup d'etat. In Sofia the Agrarian ministers were arrested; Stambuliyski, in the country, was captured, murdered. The Orange Guard resisted only a

short time, only at Plevna. The Communist Party preserved its usual passivity, its calm; the Central Committee of the Party declared: "Let the two bourgeoisies (of country and city) kill each other."

The Anarchists, hunted down and shot by the Stambuliyski government and still bearing the scars of Yamboli, tried to resist the coup d'etat: at Kilifarevo they rose, carried the local Communists and Agrarians along with them, and stood off the assaults of the army for several days. They even occupied the city of Drenovo and several villages at the foot of the mountains.

Had the Communist Party joined in these actions, had the Agrarians been better prepared, the uprising bursting out in many places could have put down the coup d'etat. These events are reminiscent of the fascist insurrection in Spain in 1936: a preconceived plan, a massive fascist assault. In Bulgaria, though unprepared for united mass action, the Anarchists put up stubborn resistance: not for direct realisation of their ideal of Libertarian Communism, less still to rescue the Stambuliyski government, but simply to prevent the imposition of fascism.

Later the Bulgarian Communists, spurred by Moscow's reproaches, "took cognizance of their mistakes" and organised an uprising (in September). But the Bulgarian Communists had no experience in revolutionary action and the plans were discovered beforehand by the authorities. The uprising failed. The Anarchists took active part, contributed important successes and many victims. The savagery of the terrified fascist bourgeoisie was unrestrained: barracks, schools and prisons were full of anti fascists. Each night the torturers came looking for victims; black wagons came looking for bodies to throw over a cliff or into a ravine. Each night, for days, weeks and months, prison boats on the Danube threw mutilated corpses on the waters. Among the combatants as among the dead, Agrarians, Communists and Anarchists had their heroes and their martyrs. The number of assassinated anti-fascists — peasants, workers, intellectuals — reached 35,000. The number condemned to death, to life imprisonment, long terms, was very high. One such victim was George Cheitanov, who together with his companion and twelve other comrades was assassinated in June 1925. Cheitanov, who had been living clandestinely in the country for over sixteen years was one of the most influential anarchist propagandists of the time (eds.).

In answer to the butchery, the *attentat* of the Sofia Cathedral was carried out; 220 persons died, among them 13 generals and ministers.

We are here in the darkest years of fascist reaction. There were guerrillas all through the regime. The first Bulgarian partisan units were Anarchists. The Communists, declared enemies of this tactic, busied themselves with electoral battles and again lost interest in the revolutionary struggle. From 1923 — 1924 onward, the anarchists Vassil Ikononov, Vassil St. Popov (Geroi), Tinko Simov, Georgi Popov, the brothers Tumangelov, and many others formed partisan groups that went into the mountains and kept the revolutionary ardor of the Bulgarian people alive. The bloodiest repression could not stamp out what refused to die: love of liberty and the will to struggle to retain it.

Under the fascist regime the first large scale labour action was the successful general strike of tobacco workers. Its principal leader was the Anarchist Ivan Konstantinov, militant of Plovdiv.

The student youth, also, particularly the Federation of Anarchist Students (B.O.N.S.F.), distinguished itself by stubborn activity despite beatings, persecution, assassinations. Finally we must give credit to the passive resistance of the peasants.

For six or seven years they did everything they could to avoid paying taxes, in spite of seizures and public sales. Rarely did anyone dare buy such goods. Tax receipts did not come to even half the budget estimates.

In these bloody struggles the Anarchist movement lost many militants. But there were other losses too, losses resulting from collaboration with politicians, above all with the Communists. The "United Front" tactic is in fact a Communist idea, basically a manoeuvre to swallow up "sister" organisations. Some let circumstances get the better of them, and a "revisionist" tendency developed within the movement; those who practiced close, continual collaboration with the anti-fascist political parties sought self-justification in revision of fundamental Anarchist ideas. Others, hoping to build up an exclusively syndicalist movement, went so far as to assert that the proletariat, through its unions, had the right to organise and direct the life of the whole society — though in Bulgaria the proletariat is only 10 per cent of the population. This period of confusion did, however, give the Federation an experience from which it learned to reject all collaboration with political parties except on the plane of revolutionary action.

In 1931 elections were held. Despite elaborate precautions favourable to fascists and pro-fascists, they were defeated. Bulgaria now had a kind of democratic government; but the omnipotence of army and police was not disturbed. Freedom of speech and association was so circumscribed that this regime was hardly distinguishable from dictatorship. Nevertheless, it did represent a slight improvement over the nine years of avowedly fascist rule.

The anti-fascist groups began to resume activity. In point of members the two strongest were the Agrarian Union and the Communist Party, closely followed by the Anarchist Federation.

Anarchist periodicals and publications, though severely censored and often confiscated, appeared anew: papers, theoretical magazines, pamphlets, books. The movement rebuilt rapidly, but it still had to remain underground, in utmost secrecy. Overtly Anarchist labour, peasant or cultural organisations were forbidden. But skillful subterfuges enabled the movement to make substantial progress; the Anarchist peasant organisation, the *Union Vlassovden*, counted 130 groups; and there were 40 syndicalist groups.

In the cultural field, under fascism, the Anarchists had created the movement of "abstinent youth" who developed an extensive activity under this modest name. They had branches in towns and villages and all the bigger schools. The militants of the Federation had also organised an association of Anarchist and Anarchist sympathetic writers, painters, sculptors, theatre artists, doctors, engineers, scientists and intellectuals.

This activity was broadened and intensified after the mountain congress of September, 1933, that reaffirmed the Anarchist-Communist basis of the Federation. But in May, 1934, the Military League staged a new coup d'état. Hoping to stifle the love of liberty forever, the reactionary bourgeoisie turned to the corporative method of fascism. The military, regimenting every phase of social, economic and cultural life, established the "new order." This "new order" was really very old, the Bulgarian people were not deceived. The totalitarian state strove to bring all social, economic and cultural organisations under its direct control; but when active struggle is no longer possible, passive resistance finds manifold expression. If one could no longer publish a newspaper to one's liking, one did not therefore have to read those of the corporative lie-and-obscurantism factories. If one could not organise an association in harmony with one's ideas and aspirations,

one did not belong to an organisation whose aim was directly contrary. Dues, of course, were collected by the tax-collector like taxes. Still, if one could not always get out of attending meetings, one dispensed with taking part in the discussion. And as to work, one did not strain oneself. Naturally, all that does not solve the problem, it is not enough to end an oppressive regime. There comes a time when one's indignation can no longer be contained; revolt, first individual, then collective; then, also, bullets, prison, the concentration camp.

During the last war, during the German occupation, passive resistance grew tremendously, and at one time the armed resistance very much resembled the 1923 insurrection; when new groups of partisans appeared and the Communists sought to monopolise this form of struggle, the Anarchists joined in this movement. Acting independently or in co-operation with the Communists, they came immediately after the Communists in number of victims. And they took part in the liberation movement of September 9, 1944.

Bulgaria, under occupation till that date, fought the Gestapo and German Nazism. It was an arsenal. The most stringent measures were used to throttle every attempt at protest, but the Bulgarian people gave proof of extraordinary moral force; thousands of peasants and workers were shot, and their houses burned by the fascists. Often, to revenge themselves on a single man of resistance, the fascists killed wife, children, parents, brothers and sisters. In this struggle, the Bulgarian Syndicalists and Anarchists were the vanguard, as much in resistance groups as in sabotage groups within the factories.

The "New Era"

Fascism of the Hitlerian type was liquidated in Bulgaria on September 9, 1944. The Bulgarian people thought they were in a situation full of excellent possibilities. Factory and workshop committees, composed of workers, were created spontaneously. New local committees took responsibility for administration. In the streets and public squares the victorious people openly displayed its revolutionary will. The union movement re-organised.

But Soviet Russia was near, the Russian army occupied the country. And as is their habit whenever people revolt, the leaders of the political parties succeeded in re-taking power. They did not shrink from heavy measures against revolutionists. Slowly but systematically they liquidated all the gains of a people who had hoped to go beyond a simple political turnover.

At the instigation of the Communists, a number of political groups collaborated to form the Fatherland Front. This group took power and became dictators of the new Bulgaria. The character of the groups behind it was often dubious, their past often reactionary. Some of their outstanding members had played a crucial role in the 1934 fascist coup d'état. One of their men, Kimo Georgieff, the new President of the Council, had also been President of the Council after the 1934 coup d'état and had tried to introduce a Mussolini type corporatism into Bulgaria. Afterwards, for personal motives, he had joined some other army men in opposition to the King. With reactionaries of this type the Communists collaborated and shared power. They were creating a transitional situation to clear the way for exclusive appropriation of power by the Communist Party — a process made easier by the proximity of Russia, the presence of Russian troops in Bulgaria, and the oppressive regime that they gradually but pitilessly imposed on the whole country. The facade was patriotic propaganda: Fatherland Front, "National Renaissance."

The programme of the Fatherland Front deliberately masked the reality: it pretended to restore the rights of the people, freedom of press, of meeting, of association; political, cultural and juridical legality. But from the outset there were certain very significant restrictions: only the parties in power or groups supporting them could publish newspapers, magazines and books, or organise meetings, conferences and congresses, or carry on public activity. The other groups had only to work and keep quiet; and if they dared express by word or writing their opinion of social, economic and cultural conditions, or their non-conformist ideas on social change, they could count on being sent to the concentration camp as in the days of fascist rule. Obviously these measures were not aimed at the fascists, for one of their parties, the military clique, was in power; while the Anarchists, though represented on local committees in some places, did not take part in the Fatherland Front.

The Communists aimed at destroying all freedom and taking full power. Later they gained control of a parliamentary majority and are now at work making the Fatherland over into a Single Party; and then the other parties will no longer be tolerated. Bulgaria will have a single party regime analogous to the absolute power of the Communists in the Soviet Union.

One of the chief measures taken by the Communist-directed government has been absolute control of the trade-union movement. In the union statutes their democratic basis is of course affirmed. But the Communists quickly converted the unions into an instrument of government policy. By threat or by violence the members were made to attend meetings and demonstrations and listen to Communist orators. Instead of defending the working class, these faithful servants of the party repeat the official slogans of the Party. By purely fascist methods, all workers were herded into a single union organisation. Membership is now compulsory. All criticism, even the very mildest, of the Party or any of its members is very risky; it leads to the concentration camp. Methods of violence impose silence on the workers. Organised spying and informing among the workers and liberal bourgeoisie perfect these methods.

Any resistance to this policy, so dangerous to the working classes, is called a "fascist plot." The union must unreservedly accept a government policy that cuts wages, introduces piece work, develops the spirit of competition among workers, and aggravates the hierarchical wage system. Thus labour organisation has become a docile tool in the hands of the State, of the government. This is red fascism, pure and simple.

The Anarchists became the target of persecution by this totalitarianism very early, shortly after the Russians arrived. At first the government could not refuse a semblance of liberty; halls were re-opened and the newspaper *Rabotnicheska Missal* reappeared; but not for long, the halls were closed everywhere, the one in Sofia lasted just a little longer than the rest; the newspaper was able to publish only eight issues, after the confiscation of the eighth number it definitely ceased to appear, it was banned. All propaganda, oral or written, all free organisational activity is forbidden. Books and propaganda pamphlets are regularly confiscated and burned. The whole movement has been driven underground again. This was a prepared plan: at the beginning, when the memory of the exploits of the Anarchists were still alive in the hearts of the whole population, the government and police felt the need for pretexts for their arbitrary measures; they sometimes even released prisoners. But they were not very dependable. For example, to give itself

a "democratic" appearance the new government of the Fatherland Front had proclaimed freedom of press and abolition of censorship. But since importation of newsprint had become a State monopoly, the Minister of Information determined allocations. After numerous applications, the organ of the Anarchist Federation was authorised; but very soon its allotment was cut off because of an article asserting that the strongest arm of the working class in the defence of its interests is the strike.

Then the Communists took a series of measures against the militants of the Federation: all locals were closed, and in many towns and villages, as in Plovdiv and Pavel Banya, all those found in the office of the Federation were arrested. When explanations were demanded for these brutal measures, so openly contradictory to the Fatherland Front's September 9 proclamation of free press, meeting, organisation and thought, they replied invariably: "Address yourselves to the Central Committee of the Communist Party," and despite all protests the persecutions continued, in accordance with the orders of the Central Committee of the Party.

To formulate a position in this new situation, the Anarchist Federation convoked a special conference. On the first day of the conference, March 10, 1945, all the delegates present, to the number of 90, were arrested by the Communist militia, sent to concentration camps and put to forced labour; in an atmosphere of moral and physical slavery, they were subjected to tortures and deprived of covering and clothing.

Those still at liberty sent delegations to ministers and leaders of government parties to demand the release of the prisoners. But always the same answer: "Address yourselves to the Central Committee of the Communist Party."

On August 26, under pressure from the United States and England, the government was forced to permit elections, and the police regime was moderated slightly. The prisoners were released, some of them, after having been terribly beaten. For a few days the libertarian press was permitted, and the great interest of the people in this movement was demonstrated by the fact that *Workers' Thought* expanded immediately to 30,000 copies considerable for so small a country. But this was all the more reason for the Communists to suppress it immediately and resume still more severe repression designed to wipe out the movement; for they rightly feared the growth and competition of a true popular movement whose strength and very roots lay in the spirit of liberty and truth.

The anarchists became once more victims of the state, many being confined in concentration camps. In January 1948 the existence of these camps became known through a report written by the Secretary of the B.A.C.F. and smuggled out of the country where it was published by the sub-secretariat of the I.W.M.A.

Communist Concentration Camps in Bulgaria

"All the letters of our alphabet would not be enough to present the true character of the concentration camps in our country, which are intended to exterminate man and his freedom. Alongside our comrades in these camps are thousands of other Bulgarians.

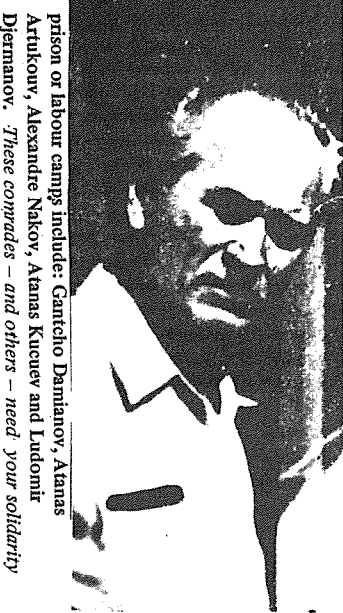
"We shall give some facts and examples that you may judge the reality.

"The camps are composed of barracks made of wood and earthen bricks, and are in two wings. The beds — one above another — are two metres long and 40 cms. wide. On the bed the prisoner must place, at one end and the same time, himself and his baggage, and from the first night onward he is able to understand perfectly the nature of the camps.

"One cannot speak of hygiene, because, in the main, there is insufficient water. In most of the camps water has to be fetched from far off, and there is not enough for everyone to drink. It's a big event when one is able to wash one's clothes — a thing that isn't possible for everyone. Only the strongest are able to wash their linen once a month, or once in two months. Medical aid is given by decree. Doctors are forbidden to prescribe rest in more than the agreed percentage of cases; in the Cuciyan Camp, for example, this is one per cent.

"The quality of the food is beyond description. For example, in the Cuciyan Camp, near the town of Pernik, where the work of mining is very hard and painful, the ration is 600 gr. of bread a day and a soup called 'chorba', which do not give the necessary calories. For several months nothing but cabbage — of the worst quality in Bulgaria — has been cooked in the camp, a witness from the camp tells us. 'Most of our fat and sugar ration is kept by the camp guards,' a cook, recently released from the camp states. The food for nearly 1000 men is cooked in boilers meant to supply 200-250. It is the same in the camp called Bogdanovdol. In boil-

Now!



Christo Kolev, one of the Bulgarian anarchist activists at present detained in a Bulgarian forced labour camp. Other comrades in

ers for 70-80 men is cooked the food for 150-200. The prisoners work 15 hours a day making bricks. The situation in these camps is particularly bad, as food and clothing parcels have been forbidden since January 1st.

"The bad conditions of the dwelling quarters and the food are not the sole causes of the discomfort which the internees are made to suffer. The amount of work required from each one is hard, and is, moreover, accompanied by an inhuman system of punishments. In this matter the two camps cited are the worst. The Cuciyan camp is known as "The Caresses of Death" and Bogdanovdol "The Camp of Shadows."

"The treatment inflicted on the anarchists is particularly bad. They are often forced to do 36 hours' work without halting. Twelve to 16 hours work is the normal thing. Men often fall down of hunger and fatigue, and there have been some deaths in spite of the practice of releasing dying prisoners, so that their deaths take place at home and not at the camp.

"Punishments are so bad, that they are beyond conception. In addition to beatings, supplementary work and imprisonment for several months, the infamous punishment of "counting the stars"

is practiced. The internees are forced to remain standing motionless in front of the guards in the open air, during the night, in rain, frost or snow. This punishment lasts one, two, three, four, five, or ten consecutive nights and those who are undergoing this punishment have to work during the day. These punishments are applied on the slightest pretext.

"For example, one of our comrades was ordered to 'count the stars' because he took an invalid from work and put him in bed. Another elderly comrade received three nights of it for the crime of not rising when one of the camp officers passed through the hall while he was eating at midday.

"Collective punishments" are often applied. For an error by one detainee, a group, a barracks or the whole camp may be punished. These collective punishments are used often against the Anarchists. There are other special punishments. For example, by an order from above, the Anarchist collective has been destroyed and all the means of subsistence confiscated. In September alone more than 100 kilos were confiscated from them.

"What we have already said about the Bulgarian extermination camps would be incomplete without some supplementary details.

"In the Cuciyan camp, for example, a few months ago, two children of 14 spent nearly two months. In Bogdanovdol and Cuciyan ten Turkish children of 15-17 years of age are still detained today. With these children are old people of 60-70.

"As in Franco Spain and monarcho-fascist Greece, a regime of terror and intolerable violence reigns throughout Bulgaria today. The detention of our comrades continues, and this is now without even a charge being brought: 'He who is not with us is an enemy of the people,' declared a Bulgarian Minister recently, 'and against him we must fight pitilessly.'

"It is enough now to be an Anarchist, or simply an honest man, to refuse to call black white, or to recognise the new masters, to be labelled 'Enemy of the people,' 'saboteur' or 'agitator,' and to be taken from your home and separated from your family.

"All free-thinking men throughout the world must raise their voices and protest against these crimes. We ask them to make these facts known so that they can rise with us against the Bolshevik butchery. Down with the masquerade of the false communism and the false communist!

Bulgaria — January, 1948"

By December 1948 the mounting repression against the anarchist movement came to a head with the mass arrest of over 600 militants some days before the Bulgarian Communist Party's Fifth Congress. After several trials these comrades were sent to concentration camps.

After this communist onslaught no open manifestation of anarchism was possible. Comrades either went into hiding to continue the struggle clandestinely or went into exile. Those who left the country gathered in Paris where they began a monthly journal, *Notre Route*, the organ of the B.A.C.F. in exile. Although this publication is in Bulgarian they have also published books and pamphlets in French including a biography of Cheitanov, and the memoirs of Nicolas Steinov, the centenarian anti-militarist and anarchist propagandist.

Despite a never ending communist persecution the anarchist movement is still alive in Bulgaria. In April 1974 seven militants were arrested and condemned to five years internal deportation each, under strict surveillance, in addition they were obliged to sign a declaration that they would refrain from anarchist propaganda. One of these militants was Christo Kolov who has been adopted as a prisoner of Amnesty International.

KANEKO FUMIKO

When Noel and Marie Murray were arraigned on a death sentence in Dublin in June 1976, they took their place as the latest in a long succession of couples whose first vow was to overthrow state oppression, and who fell victim to the particular viciousness of state violence. Japan seems to have had more than its share of such couples: Kotoku Shusui and Kanno Suga, hanged for High Treason in January 1911; Osugi Sakae and Ito Noe, arrested and murdered by the Kempeitai in September 1923; and Kaneko Fumiko and Pak Yul, about whom the following article revolves.

Introduction.

"Life is not just action, but action in response to your own free will. In other words, action is not all of life; thus, simply living in itself is meaningless, and may be said to begin only when conscious action itself begins. An action taken of your own free will, even should it lead to your own physical destruction, is not the negation but the affirmation of life."

"High Treason" in pre-1945 Japan was not merely a political crime, but a revolt against God in the person of its earthly representative the emperor. In March 1926 21-year old nihilist Kaneko Fumiko was convicted of high treason. In response to the judge's sonorous tones pronouncing sentence, she raised both hands in the air and shouted "Banzai!" Preservation of the spirit through the destruction of the flesh: precisely the fate which the last few years of her short, stormy life had been building up to.

When the Catfish Shivers . . .

The story behind the trial goes back ultimately to a childhood scarred permanently by legal brutality, but we can pick it up at a date just two and a half years before the courtroom scene was enacted, on September 1, 1923 - to be precise, at 11.58a.m.

At 11.58a.m. most of Tokyo was getting ready to knock off work for the morning; at home dinner was cooking over charcoal braziers. By a few minutes after 12.00 this everyday scene had been replaced by one of desolation and inferno, for this was the day when the most destructive earthquake in the history of Japan - the Great Tokyo Earthquake - struck. In an apocalyptic outburst of anger, the gods of Japan - many Japanese people at that time still believed that natural disasters were a sign of the gods' displeasure with worldly events - had picked up the earth by its axis as one picks up a cat by the scruff of its neck, and the wood and paper houses of the sprawling metropolis of Tokyo-Yokohama collapsed like a pack of cards. Overhead angry clouds rose like pillars of red smoke. As the aftershocks repeated themselves almost without interval, the cooking stoves overturned amongst the debris transformed the entire urban area into a sea of flame. When the shocks and the firestorms subsided, two thirds of Tokyo and four fifths of Yokohama were destroyed, and some 140,000 people burned to death.

The authorities were not prepared to trust to nature, however.

As the next day dawned upon a scene of burned-out devastation, the cries of fear and grief of the previous day were replaced by a new sound, one that brought more terror to the hearts of those it pointed to than any of nature's wonders could bring:

"Koreans are going about, setting fire to shops, poisoning the drinking water, and raping our women. Korean miners have stolen dynamite, and plan to blow up the whole of Tokyo . . .!" "That's not all . . . They're being egged on by Japanese socialists!"

These rumours, deliberately created and spread by the secret police upon imperial orders had their origin in the need to assign responsibility for the holocaust. In the past emperors had even resigned in penance at such a manifestation of the wrath of their heavenly superiors. For Hirohito, as effectively in control as he is today, though officially still Prince-Regent on behalf of the mad Emperor Taisho his father, abdication was out of the question. Another scapegoat was needed. The enormous Korean immigrant population, either shipped in as forced labour or obliged to come because of colonial oppression since Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, was ideal. For centuries the Japanese people had been indoctrinated to despise their nearest neighbours, and the rumour that Koreans had offended the Japanese gods was perfectly calculated to bring out their long-harboured hatred.

The government had a specific political motive, too. Since the first organised resistance in Korea to Japanese colonial rule had burst out in the March 1st Independence Movement of 1919, the formation of terrorist groups all over the colony, the inauguration of the Provisional Government in Shanghai soon after, and the various activities of independence-seekers of all shades on the political spectrum - all these had combined to constitute a painful thorn in the side of the Japanese authorities. Even worse, the spread of these activities to Koreans living in Japan and the support given them by Japanese socialists was beginning to create instability at home, which was heightened by the post-war depression still gripping the country.

The insertion of Japanese socialists into the plot was a brainwave, marking the government's recognition of a heaven-sent opportunity to eliminate known militants and cow the rank and file into submission without having to weather the storm of opposition which it knew would blow up if it employed legal means; all casualties could be blamed on the earthquake.

At 6p.m. on September 2nd, 30 hours after the tremors, martial law was declared, ostensibly to deal with the gangs of socialists and Koreans said to be ransacking the city. Vigilante teams were formed everywhere, and terrified people, incensed by long-conditioned racial hatred and incited by government-supported right-wing fanatical death squads, sought out, beat up and cut down in broad daylight every last Korean they could find. Traditional-style Japanese swords were the favourite weapon, and when not available were replaced by fire hooks. "I killed so many!" - "I killed twice that many!" Shouts like these (to be repeated at the rape of Nanking, China, in 1937 and thenceforth over all of Asia) were to be heard in every corner of the working-class districts where most Koreans lived, as mobs of Japanese, sleeves dripping with blood, gathered to assess their gruesome toll. It was a hell beyond imagination, let alone description. Kotoku Shusui's conversion to anarchism had come about after he saw the mutual aid spontaneously practised following the San

Francisco earthquake of 1906. Had he remained alive to see what happened in his own Tokyo, he might have been less sanguinary about the imminence of revolution in Japan.

Late in the day the government, feeling maybe that things had got out of hand, or perhaps reckoning that the heat was now well and truly off Hirohito, announced belated measures to protect Koreans from the atrocities which it itself had engineered. Chief among the measures was "protective custody": read "Auschwitz". The massacres now took place behind police-station doors instead of in the open.

The 6000 or so Koreans estimated to have lost their lives in the days of horror that followed the earthquake were joined by several hundred Chinese and at least 400 socialists - mainly anarchists - known to have perished. As the cells filled, victims were slaughtered to make room. Thus the anarcho-syndicalist Osugi Sakae, his wife Ito Noe and his seven-year old nephew Soichi were strangled and thrown into a well. Thus too, seventeen anarchist workers (some of them Koreans) who refused to stop singing revolutionary songs in their police cells were slashed to death with cavalry sabres. A full list of atrocities has yet to be compiled. On September 3rd Kaneko Fumiko and her common-law husband Pak Yul were picked up at their home, H.Q. of the *Futei Sha* or Society of Rebels, and taken into "protective custody." She was just 19.

Pak Yul

"Revolutionary leaders will undoubtedly seize power in the new society. Right on. As the new power-holders they will certainly create a new order too. And when the people wake up and look around them they will find that once again they are slaves, subject to a new set of masters. And they will say, 'What is a revolution then? Is it, after all, just the replacement of one set of rulers by another?'"

When Fumiko first met the Korean nihilist Pak Yul in the spring of 1922, though still only 17, she had already been into both Christianity and socialism, and come out of each disappointed by the failure of their respective protagonists (both men she had lived with) to live up to the ideals they preached. Hatred of authoritarianism in all its guises, expressed in the sentences quoted above, brought her through anarchism finally to nihilism, and when she and Pak Yul met in a Chinese restaurant in Tokyo it was a coming together of like minds. Having already determined that Pak was the man who would restore her faith in revolutionary principles, when they met again in the same restaurant Fumiko proposed to him that they live together as equal comrades, thus not repeating the experience of her previous relationships. Nevertheless, she took pains to ensure that there would be no mistake:

"Forgive me for speaking so frankly . . . Are you married? If not, then surely someone . . . that you have a lover I cannot doubt. Even if you have, I would like to work together with you as a comrade . . ."

"I am single . . . I have no lover . . ."

"Then . . . I am a Japanese. I try not to have any prejudice against Koreans, but in your own case perhaps you feel some antipathy towards me, don't you?"

"No. Any animosity I have is directed entirely against the Japanese ruling class, not

against the ordinary Japanese. And towards unprejudiced people like you, on the contrary, I feel a great closeness."

"One more question: are you a nationalist? To tell the truth I spent some time in Korea myself, and I think I can understand the feelings cherished by the people active in the nationalist movement. And yet . . . because I am still a Japanese, and haven't suffered oppression by the Japanese government in the same way that the same way that the Korean people have, I find it impossible to fight alongside such people for Korean independence. Accordingly, if you too are an independence fighter, I am sorry to say that it is impossible for me to live with you."

"There are certain aspects of the Korean nationalist movement with which one must be in sympathy. I myself was once a member of that movement. Now I am no longer so. I have my own way of thinking, my own way of working. It is no longer possible for me to fight in the nationalist movement."

* * * *

Fumiko's attraction towards Pak Yul dated from some time earlier when a Korean friend had shown her a copy of a Korean magazine in which Pak's poem 'Dog' was carried. Its effect upon her was devastating. The rebellious sentiments which it expressed were stronger than any she had ever encountered before, and she seemed to feel herself sucked into the very centre of the poem itself. (Unfortunately, no copies of the poem exist today, so we are unable to discover what it was that impressed her so much). In and between its lines, 17-year old Fumiko could feel the revolutionary anger bubbling up, and she made up her mind there and then to somehow make Pak Yul's acquaintance.

Pak Yul, born in Korea in 1902, had moved like her from vague socialism tinted with nationalism, through anarchism to nihilism. In the days of the full bloom of 'Taisho Democracy'(*) he had met and been deeply affected by anarchists like Osugi Sakae and Iwasa Sakutarō, become politicised, and got involved in activities aimed at the overthrow of Japanese imperialism and the ruling class which sponsored it.

In 1920 he and other young Koreans living in Tokyo had organised the *Giketsu Dan* (Righteous Bold Corps), modelled upon a similar group the *Uiyuldan* (Band of Heroes) then operating with great success against Japanese installations in Korea and Manchuria. In the following year a new group, the *Tekken Dan* (Clenched Fist Corps) was formed. By carrying out a campaign of revenge against those who betrayed the Korean people, the aim was to raise Korean national consciousness.

Later in the same year, in close collaboration with Iwasa and Osugi, Pak took part in the creation of the *Kokuto Kai* (Black Waves Society), a group intended to draw together all Korean socialists living in Tokyo. The preponderance of anarchists may be judged by its manifesto:

"We live our lives at all times strictly according to our own will . . . We will oppose to the bitter end and seek with all our strength to smash all the unreasonable and artificial concepts of 'unity' which disregard the free will of each individual and impede the full development of his or her own personality . . . You can keep your Marx, your Lenin, you can even keep your Kropotkin — we have no use for any of that stuff. We have our own precious experiences to rely upon, our own pronouncements to make, and the blood that flows in our own veins to fire our zeal. We have things which we must do, and as for those things we should not do — we will be the judges. No external authority, however strong, can direct our actions."

To The People

Fumiko and Pak began living together soon after their second meeting in the Chinese

restaurant. Before doing so they drew up the following covenant:

1. to live together as comrades;
2. to disregard Fumiko's female sex when engaged in movement activities;
3. to each aid the other in his or her activities, the better to serve the movement;
4. to discontinue their life together should either one of them backslide ideologically or make peace with the authorities.

Their first joint activity was the publication of *Kokuto* (Black Waves), a magazine intended to serve as the organ of the Black Waves Society formed the previous November. They made a living from Pak Yul's ginseng peddling, in which Fumiko now joined him. In open defiance of a society which deemed that the symbol of womanhood was long flowing black hair, Fumiko cut hers short, donned Lupashka trousers (buttoned at the ankle and very wide in the leg, they are still worn today by Japanese workers) and set off to peddle her ginseng carrying a very butch briefcase.

All the editing work on 'Black Waves' was done by Pak Yul, with Fumiko contributing articles and helping with production. In one piece entitled 'Two or Three Things I have Thought About', the biting irony with which she sharply refutes the rationale behind the Japanese annexation of Korea demonstrates both her genius for political dissection and the weight of the tragic events that had shaped her short life. Her rebellion against authority grew out of both these properties.

Even as Pak Yul and Kaneko Fumiko began their joint activities, social conditions in Japan were heading for a major change. Unemployment caused by the post-war depression had put the labour movement on the defensive, and at a conference in Osaka in September 1922 the movement's leadership was seized by a coalition of communists and moderates. The communists through the Japan Communist Party formed the previous June, were criticising the anti-political stand of the anarchists and syndicalists, and advocating "utilising all the bourgeois freedoms and institutions" — in other words, parliamentary struggle. Few as the communists were, their "change of course" had a wide influence in the deteriorating conditions of the time, and from this point on the agitation for universal suffrage (hitherto suffrage had been restricted to males with considerable property) began to increase. Radical groups split down the middle, usually on a strict anarchist — 'Bolshevik' division, and the Black Waves Society was no exception. In September 1922, soon after the Osaka labour congress, it broke up into rival factions, and 'Black Waves' folded after only two issues.

Pak and Fumiko continued their publishing activities with *Futoi Senjin* (first issue came out in October), which they put out entirely under their own steam. The title had its origin in the expression '*Futei Senjin*' (Disorderly Koreans) which the Japanese authorities habitually used in the press to dampen any signs of uppityness among the Korean community. What they really meant by the term was 'Korean radicals', and accordingly, Pak and Fumiko originally intended to use the expression '*Futei Senjin*' for their new paper. The police raised immediate objections, however, and the name was changed even before the first issue appeared to *Futoi Senjin*. The word '*futoi*' can be understood on two levels; on the one hand it carries a similar meaning to '*futei*'; but it also means 'fat,' and by insisting that their paper was addressed to "Fat Koreans" Pak and Fumiko were able at least to make it see the light of day, even if some 40 - 50% of each issue was made illegible by the political censor's pen.

For them, the label '*Futei Senjin*' was synonymous with "people who are burning with the ideals of freedom and independence;" in other words, Koreans who, refusing to be tied down to dependency, fought against the authorities for their freedom.

For all this, neither Pak nor Fumiko thought of themselves as pure nationalists, as we have seen, and after two issues of '*Futoi Senjin*' they felt the need to find a new title. Their comrades included both Koreans and Japanese, and from the government's point of view they were all "disorderly wastrels" anyway, so in March 1923, the name of the paper was changed to *Gen Shakai* (Current Society). At the same time the scope of the paper was expanded and several new comrades came to help on the paper.

Things now began to move very fast. In April Pak brought together some members of the *Kokuyukai* (Black Fellowship Association) which had been formed by him and the other anarchists following the break-up of the Black Wave Society, and with them set up a new group, the *Futeisha* (Society of Rebels). Its objectives were simple: neither Korean independence, nor Korean revolution, but simply defiance, together with the punishment of all pro-Japan Koreans. Secret liaison being impossible due to police surveillance, activities were left up to individual members. The society's official activities were restricted to "research on social problems."

As for Fumiko, after a year of living together with Pak, meeting and working with his association, she was confident that her "marriage" had lived up to her ideals. For her, "service to the movement" came a slow second behind "affirmation of one's life." At the same time the fires of radicalism within her had been stoked high. The more she lived with Pak, the more she came to feel, as she had concluded to him on that day in the Chinese restaurant, that "together we could do many things." In short, Kaneko Fumiko was happy.

Frame-Up

In September came the earthquake. In order to stem the rising tide of anger among Koreans in Japan (Korean workers, mostly casual, were the first to suffer the effects of the depression, and the last to recover from them), and to nip in the bud the efforts of Kaneko Fumiko and Pak Yul to connect this anger to an anti-authoritarian revolution, the authorities pounced. The pair were arrested, taken into "protective custody", and finally charged with treason. For the average Japanese, many of whom went about night and day in a posture, spiritually speaking, of permanent obeisance to the "living god," to merely hear the word "treason" uttered was to go cold with fear. (Even today, in the birthplace of Kotoku Shusui, people go pale when his name is mentioned by unsuspecting visitors).

For that very reason, from the authorities' point of view, nothing could be handier. A treason charge permitted the roping-in of any number of "suspects" (the haul on the charge that finally hung Kotoku was several hundred). It also, in its fearsomeness, stifled opposition and served as an exemplary warning to others still contemplating risking the wrath of their rulers. In Japan's special case, moreover, it constituted more than a mere admonitory law: it was a rite of passage sanctified by the intimacy with which the average Japanese regarded his or her relationship to "Tenno" — the emperor, patriarch-in-chief of the Japanese race.

The treason charge against Pak and Fumiko was totally concocted, and not even introduced until well after their arrests. That they had discussed the need to kill the emperor, and even formed the intention of doing so, was true, but they had never laid their hands upon the means to do it.

They were not alone in harbouring such intentions. To the Japanese terrorist (then as now) assassination of the emperor or, even better in 1923, Prince-Regent Hirohito, was the most obvious thing in the world. Several attempts were made upon Hirohito's life in the mid-1920s, particularly in revenge for the brutal murder of Osugi Sakae by the military police. How much more natural

was it for those whose own soil had been stolen from them, who were forbidden even to speak their own language, who were discriminated against and abused by Japanese colonial masters, and then forced to bow down to the portrait of the emperor which adorned every public place and pay homage to his "benevolence"? How could a Korean not despise this so-called living God?

Pak Yul, nihilist as well as Korean, had indeed secretly contacted members of the already-mentioned Band of Heroes in Shanghai in order to obtain explosives for the attempt on Hirohito, and made a secret trip to Korea, but in fact neither of these efforts had borne fruit by the time of his arrest on September 3rd. Nevertheless, in February 1924, both he and Kaneko Fumiko were indicted on a charge of "contravening the regulations controlling the use of explosive substances" (the original "protective custody" order had been amended in October to a charge of "contravening the Public Order Police Law," under which the entire membership of the *Futei Sha*, deemed an illegal secret society, was picked up).

From the very beginning, the imperial authorities had intended to make a sacrificial offering of Pak and Fumiko, and they now proceeded skillfully and surreptitiously towards enticing the two into a confession. The information that they had considered an assassination attempt had come from a disaffected member of the *Futei Sha*. Fumiko and Pak, as their interrogators' line of questioning drifted perceptibly towards this direction, can hardly have failed to guess the shape of the writing already on the wall.

As a moth is drawn involuntarily towards the light, so Pak and Fumiko found themselves borne towards the gallows. For Pak in particular, it was as if Fumiko had invited him on this last journey; having accepted the invitation, he matched her steps with equal alacrity. Neither made any attempt to save themselves. To the verbal abuse of their interrogators they replied in the affirmative, admitting, in the absence of any concrete evidence against them, that they had planned to assassinate the Prince-Regent, and brandishing openly their hatred of the imperial Japanese state. In doing so they played into the hands of the authorities, now circling vulture-like above them; the proof of the charge against them lay precisely in their refusal, to the bitter end, to abandon their insistence upon the affirmation of life – in other words, their refusal to concede one inch to the executors of state violence. They were living out the creed of the '*Futei Senjin*.'

Trial

Fumiko's statement at the preliminary court of enquiry was not an emotional outburst by someone longing for death, but a cool, philosophical pronouncement by one who has soberly and in full consciousness chosen to die:

"The stronger your affirmation of life, the stronger becomes the capacity for its negation, and with it the capacity for rebellion. That is why I affirm life. Affirm it with all my strength. And precisely because I affirm life, I resist bitterly and all forces which threaten it."

The point of no return on the treason charge was passed in January 1924, at the preliminary questioning, when both Fumiko and Pak began to expand upon their opinions of the emperor system, and to explain why they had intended to kill the Prince-Regent Hirohito. Pak described the imperial family as no more than the top layer of Japan's social class hierarchy, and justified the throwing of bombs at them as follows:

"First, to demonstrate to the Japanese people the fallibility of the emperor, and thus bring his sanctity crashing to the ground. Second, to stimulate within the Korean people the passion for revolutionary independence by overthrowing the Japanese emperor. Third, to spur the now-stagnant Japanese socialist

movement to a sense of revolutionary urgency."

Fumiko, in jail as in liberty, could match every word of Pak's on the need for revolution with ten of her own. When it came to her turn to speak, she unburdened herself in such a flood of seemingly unstoppable eloquence that it could not possibly be repeated here in full. Summarised, it went something like this:

"The so-called 'homeland of the gods' by which label the Japanese imperial state is adorned, in reality amounts to no more than the means by which a tiny privileged class indulges its self-interest. The emperor is just their figurehead. The moralistic ideology of 'loyalty to the ruler and love for the country', so furiously expounded in our schools, disguises with elegant phrases their greedy desire to exploit more and more out of the Japanese people. The job of the emperor is to cloak their greed with a layer of sanctity, inveigling the Japanese people to sacrifice their own existence for the sake of his co-exploiters.

"This incomparable national policy, distinguished by its unbroken imperial line, in reality is a history of shameful infamy, drenched in the blood of the people. This is the real essence of the emperor system. To prostrate oneself in blind adoration of it instead of attacking it is to consent to being the slave of Japan's privileged minority. To overthrow the emperor, this lubricant of the machinery of oppression, every day which is saved will redound to the lasting honour of the Japanese people. If he was a god, he would be in heaven. The emperor is human as any other Japanese, and therefore we decided to prove it to the Japanese people by killing him. We also wanted to show to them that people can make their own world, that people live for their own benefit, and act according to their own needs. There is no maker."

As a result of these pronouncements, indictments against Pak and Fumiko became a foregone conclusion, and were formally handed down in July 1925. Through their uncompromising statements, the courtroom itself became a forum for the impeachment of the emperor and the imperial Japanese state.

On March 25, 1926 sentence was passed: death by hanging for both. Fumiko responded immediately with a shout of "Banzai! Bravo!", Pak with "Thank you for your trouble!" to the chief judge. For the two of them, the death sentence was the logical conclusion to their rebellion, the symbol of their ultimate victory over the Japanese state.

Perhaps for this very reason, ten days after the verdict they were summoned to the prison warden's office to hear that their desire to die for the sake of affirming life was to be thwarted after all: There had been a 'special pardon' . . . sentence was reduced by one degree to life imprisonment. Fumiko exploded immediately with anger: "You handle a person's life as if it were a toy to be played with! What is your 'special pardon'? Do you think you can treat me just as you like?!"

Suicide

"I know Pak and I love him. For all his faults and all his shortcomings, I love him, even while I acknowledge unconditionally here and now that he has sometimes caused me suffering. To Pak's comrades I say: if you think this whole affair was crazy, please feel free to mock us. It was our affair and no-one else's. To the bureaucrats I say: please, allow us to go to the gallows together. I shall be content if I may die alongside Pak. And to Pak I say: however the bureaucrats may try to pull us apart, I will never allow you to die alone!"

In the light of this earlier statement of Fumiko's, made before the judges of the High Court, in which she proclaims loudly and with dignity her love for Pak Yul, one can readily

understand the shock, both emotionally and ideologically speaking, of hearing the sentence commuted to life imprisonment. Not only was her affirmation of life through death to be denied: her separation from Pak Yul was to be permanent. Trapped in the deepest dungeons of the state, doomed to live out her days unable even to write to her beloved Pak Yul – was that life? Or just humiliation and torture?

After transfer to women's prison Fumiko refused all work, even refused food. Her last line of attack was to resign herself to extinction. She had chosen to die because her ideology committed her to resistance to state power. What use did she have for a life restored to her by the state in its 'mercy'? If she was not to betray the ideology which she had lived out hitherto, there was only one means remaining to her . . .

As the first rays of a hot summer sun filtered through the bars of her cell one morning in July 1926, Kaneko Fumiko's body was discovered suspended from the ceiling by a straw rope made in the prison workshop. She was not yet 22.

* * * * *

In the short space of seven years since the women's movement burst onto the Japanese political scene, it has become a force which none of the numerous other anti-establishment movements can ignore. Nevertheless, the life of Kaneko Fumiko, a life which she tried to take into her own hands, standing up boldly in open defiance of her oppressors, has yet to be re-assessed in terms of the criteria of the women's movement. The reason, perhaps, lies in the fact that she lived out her freedom in her own way, a way which did not put her womanhood before all else.

As modern capitalism took root in Japan following the Meiji Restoration of 1968, setting the nation on a course of forced industrialisation, strikes by women workers became common in factories all over the country. With the establishment in 1911 of the first women's political organisation, the 'Bluestockings' (*Seito Sha*), the debate on the 'New Woman' began to fill the pages of the press. "In the beginning, woman was the sun" – the opening statement of the new magazine 'Bluestocking' (*Seito*) marked the birth in Japan of the 'New Woman' idea. From a political and literary magazine, 'Bluestocking' developed gradually into an instrument for women's liberation. Finally, in 1921, the first socialist women's group, the 'Red Billows Society' (*Sekiran Kai*) was formed. Its manifesto proclaimed:

"We announce our stubborn opposition to all kinds of oppression which keeps our brothers and sisters in poverty and ignorance."

Kaneko Fumiko cannot have been unaware of these developments. Yet her disillusionment with the world – even with women themselves – was such as to prevent her from joining those who were attacking men as the oppressors, as much as her disappointment with the workers prevented her from being a socialist. For Fumiko there remained only to do what she wanted to do.

The Making of a Nihilist

The tragic chain of events which led a young girl to nihilism at the age of 18 is recorded in Kaneko Fumiko's prison notes, published in 1931 under the title 'How Did This Happen To Me?' (*Nani Ga Watashi O Ko Saseta Ka*).

Born in the autumn of 1905, from her earliest recollections home was merely the scene of constant bickering and strife between her parents. Her father's sexual promiscuity made the lives of Fumiko and her mother a misery. From time to time he would bring women home and install them in the family house. When Fumiko's mother objected she would be kicked and beaten. On another occasion he disappeared into a brothel for days on end, leaving the family to fend for

itself; finally Fumiko's mother took her by the hand and toured the town's brothel area looking for her husband. When at last they hit the target her father appeared wearing only a night-gown and threw his wife and daughter into the street. Fumiko wrote that in such conditions even her mother had no time for her, jointly oppressed though they were. Her mother, discarded by her husband, was like a kite without a string, and went from one man to the next looking for one she could rely on.

Abused by her mother's male friends, at one point on the verge of being sold to a brothel for a trifling sum, Fumiko herself finally lost all faith in a mother who made only the pretence of caring for her. At the age of fifteen she made her way to Tokyo where, as mentioned earlier, she lodged with first a Christian then a socialist, making a living by selling newspapers.

In point of fact, Fumiko's parents were not officially married at all — very important in Japan. Her father seems to have regarded his relationship with her mother as no more than a temporary arrangement until he found a more suitable woman. The birth of Fumiko destroyed all his plans, and from then on the quarrelling was continuous.

For Fumiko the outcome was even more disastrous: born out of wedlock, she was then unregistrable. In the eyes of the Japanese state an unregistered person does not exist. The bureaucratisation of Japanese society that had started in 1868 with the creation of the first strong, centralised nation state, began with the *Koseki Seido* or family register system, which was extended to subsume every last Japanese individual. The basic unit was the household, every member of which, beginning with the family head — the patriarch — was obliged to enter their name on its roll, which was then deposited in the local government office. The imperial state bestowed special powers upon each family patriarch, bringing them formally into the structure of the patriarchal imperial state itself, and thus extending the web of state control so as to leave no corner of Japan untouched.

Each family patriarch was supreme in his own household, able to regulate not only the disposition of family property but the very lives of family members themselves — and supported where necessary by the law. Family members could take no action whatsoever without asking for express permission, and, since the patriarch was the formal representative of the imperial state, to go against his orders was to attack not only the state but implicitly the supreme patriarch himself: the emperor. Every law, every moral stipulation, the running of every state agency — all were designed to facilitate the smooth operation of this repressive system.

Kaneko Fumiko, as an unregistered person, was therefore an alien in her own country. While this may appear to be an advantage, the gift of freedom from the repressive state, the reality was different. For example, those officially-registered, whatever the strictures placed upon them, had at least the right to go to school and learn to read and write. Fumiko wanted to study more than anything else; the state excluded her from its schools. Even when her mother was able to persuade some private temple school to admit her, the truth soon got around and she was forced to run the gauntlet of catcalls from other pupils.

Thus, above and beyond the ignominy of being ignored by its apparatus, Fumiko's anger at the state grew out of the impossibility of satisfying her simple desire for knowledge. To her this was the most painful of the many abuses heaped upon her. On top of it, however, was the behaviour of her father who, though of course not legally endowed with patriarchal authority, acted nevertheless as though he did and through his high-handedness made her life a misery. As for her mother, who

clung to her husband through all the kickings and beatings, then, when he rejected her for good, went from man to man looking for the right one — Fumiko could pity her, sympathise with her — but never love her. In her own words:

"I felt sorry for her being beaten all the time. But then, he himself was just as pitiful. Why, when their lives consisted purely of bitter fighting, did they continue to live together at all?"

Fumiko's nihilism was arrived at, therefore, not solely because of her disillusionment with the ignorance and weakness of the workers themselves, but also through her disillusionment with women. With this in mind we can better understand the relationship between her and the women's movement.

Ignored by the state, abused by her father, abandoned by her mother — these fifteen years led Fumiko to affirm her life in the only way possible: by cursing and rebelling against the system which had made such things come about — above all, against that symbol of all that is evil: the emperor himself.

"I cursed nature, I cursed society, I cursed every living thing. I sought to bring it all tumbling down around me as I died!"

* * * * *

Epilogue

I first heard the name of Kaneko Fumiko in Seoul, South Korea, in March 1975. Korean comrades I was visiting there told me very excitedly, "At last we've managed to erect a tombstone for Kaneko Fumiko!" and brought out some photographs to prove it. About 100 people, from old militants to young children, gathered around a simple black stone topped by a piece of Korean granite. The inscription on the stone read simply: "The grave of Miss Kaneko Fumiko." On the facing side was a brief resume in Korean of her life, and another side carried a list of members of the 'Committee to Erect the Tombstone of Kaneko Fumiko'. Among the names I could see those of many old militants, veterans of the anti-colonial struggle and fighters for the anarchist cause, like Chong Hwa Am, Lee Chung Kyu, Ha Kee Rak, Chong Nae Dong, Lee Chi Hal, Choi Hak Chu. Another name was that of Kurihara Kazuo, veteran Japanese anarchist who had first published Fumiko's prison notes, 'How Did This Happen To Me?' in 1931. A delegation from Japan had also visited the grave, I heard. It included the author Setouchi Harumi, who has written a novel *Yohaku no Haru* (Blank Spring) about Fumiko and Pak Yul, as well as two others about the lives of Kotoku Shusui and Kanno Suga, and Osugi Sakae and Ito Noe respectively.

The lonely hillside where the tombstone stands overlooks the village where Pak Yul was born. From the time she began living with Pak, Fumiko started a correspondence with his family in Korea, in the course of which she begged them to allow her, after her death, to be buried in the family tomb. Accordingly, in July 1926 her ashes were taken to Korea and preparations made to bury them as she had wished. At this point the Japanese colonial authorities stepped in: "No visiting the grave of a traitor!" If the ashes had been buried in the village cemetery, under the eyes of the secret police agents who kept Pak Yul's old home under constant surveillance, it would have been impossible to go near it even for fear of being arrested for 'anti-government activities'. So, according to Pak's nephew, the grave was dug high in the mountains where those who wished to pay their respects to Kaneko Fumiko could do so in secret. Only now, 50 years after her death, has it become possible to pay one's respects publicly. For this the credit goes to the anarchist movement in south Korea, particularly the old militants (including one former *Futei Sha* member), who challenged the malicious government of Pak Chung Hee by openly honouring a fallen

comrade.

Pak Yul remained in a Japanese prison until the war ended in 1945 and even then the US Occupation Government showed no immediate inclination to release him. In response to strong agitation by socialists and anarchists, to whom Pak was not only a hero of the anti-fascist struggle, but one of the few who had outlived his prison sentence, Pak finally left Akita Prison in October 1945. After a few months' convalescence, he threw himself once again into the struggle for Korean independence.

Things, however, had changed. Instead of a purely anti-Japanese, anti-colonial struggle, the Korean movement (like the Korean peninsula itself) had been split down the middle. The struggle which had begun at home between Russian-supported communists and US supported liberals and right-wingers for mastery over the war-weary Korean people was reflected in the Korean community in Japan. The 'League for Construction of a New Korea' which Pak had helped begin in February 1946 and the 'League of Korean Residents in Japan', started in October 1946, both fell casualties to this new division as the 'Black Waves Society' and others had to the 'Anarchist-Bolshevik' controversy in the 1920s. When Pak expressed himself firmly in favour of the US puppet Syngman Rhee, despite the fact that his provisional government in Seoul had already set about eliminating, with US support, all known radicals in south Korea, communists in the groups staged a coup d'etat and Pak was thrown out from his position as chairman. Soon after this he left for Korea, where he accepted a post in the Rhee government.

Four years later, when north Korean troops pushed the Americans and south Korean forces to the southern-most tip of the peninsula, Pak, for reasons unknown, refused to flee with the rest of the government, and remained in Seoul. There he was arrested and taken back to the north. For a long time nothing was heard of him until, suddenly, his voice began to be heard over Pyongyang Radio lauding the benefits of north Korean socialism. He died in 1974, his death solemnly announced by the north Korean authorities as that of a great national spirit. Of his 72 years, some 20 had been spent incarcerated in a Japanese gaol, and the last 25 in the iron grip of Kim Il Song.

*During the Taisho era (1912-1926) liberal scholarship became very popular, though politics remained as reactionary as ever.

Tohyama Hiroko & Wat Tyler
Osaka, August 1977.



The tombstone of Kaneko Fumiko

Introduction to 'Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship'

IN HIS ESSAY on the Spanish Civil War Noam Chomsky destroys the prejudices concerning the alleged lack of ability by the workers and the so-called need for the left as an elitist force. His observations are valid not only for Spain but for any popular movement.

Historians in the main ignore this position, for example Hugh Thomas, even in the new edition of his work *The Spanish Civil War*. And it is not really surprising that Gabriel Jackson should persist in his opinion: "In the first place, I should like to say that Professor Chomsky, in his discussion of my book, has created an aunt Sally. I hope no one judges my real opinion of the anarchists or my use of these sources from the distinctly tendentious version he gives (. . .) I have never replied to Chomsky in writing (. . .) anyone who reads what I said concerning collectivisation and what Chomsky has said can see that I am considerably more sceptical as to the long term viability of these collectivisations. The fact is that I give them as much credit for their agricultural and industrial achievements at that time as does Chomsky himself. Therefore, so far as I am concerned there is no ground for any dispute between us." (*Triunfo*, Madrid, 8/3 1975, p. 37)

Gabriel Jackson must have problems with his eyesight because in the Mexican edition of his book (1967) which covers the period 1931-1939 with 413 pages of text (not counting appendices and bibliography), there are barely five and a half which deal with self-management (omitting all references to the attempts of 1932 - 1933 and the theoretical publications); and besides the lack of documents, which are cited in such abundance by B. Bolloten; there is a sort of conclusion taking up four lines which ends with the problem being assimilated by carlism and cantonalism (a coarse imitation of G. Brennan).

Chomsky's study is, therefore, as valid today as it was in 1969 and his argument is very serious.

The fetishism, the worship of elites continues to be evident throughout the world and in all societies: "The West, until now has helped the Soviet Union to avoid a crisis. Because the West dreads such a crisis." (Amalric in *L'Express*, Paris, 28/2/1977, p. 71.) Or, to put it in the words of a French left-wing historian, Marc Ferro, in the event of revolution: "The democratic and conciliatory "head" of the organisations could be submerged by a "base" that swelled up and turned out to be, at top, the support of demagogues, of doctrinaires." (*Le Monde*, Paris, 28/1/1977, p. 15)

This fear of a hierarchic vacuum of intellectuals formed by capitalism is reflected in the implacable condemnations of anarchism by leninists.

I give here two quotations taken from the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* in Russian. One is the stalinist version of 1953 and the other the "de-stalinised" version of 1970.

On the Spanish War

1953 version: "In the period of the struggle of the Spanish Republic against fascism and Italo/German intervention, 1936-1939, the anarchists, forced by the pressure of the workers who still remained under their influence, fell in with the principle of the Popular Front, bringing into it their explosive work. They undermined all unity with their leftist demands for immediate socialisation of all industries and the violent collectivisation of the peasantry. Certain elements among the anarchists joined with the trotskysts in espionage and other subversive works, participating in the trotskyst counter-revolutionary coup in Barcelona (May 1937) and sowing a spirit of defeat. Together with other traitors and capitulators, they helped the fascists to stifle the Spanish Republic and to establish the bloody Franco regime." (p. 362)

1970 version: "During the national revolutionary war of 1936-1939 in Spain, a section of the anarchists and their leaders (Durruti and others)

took part in the struggle organised against fascism, other leaders rejected the indispensable revolutionary discipline during the national revolutionary war of 1936-1939, abandoning the front, attracting scandals and provocations in the rearguard, demanding "immediate revolution" and "libertarian communism" (that is free from governmental power). These events weakened the Spanish Republic." (p. 574)

On the Present Situation

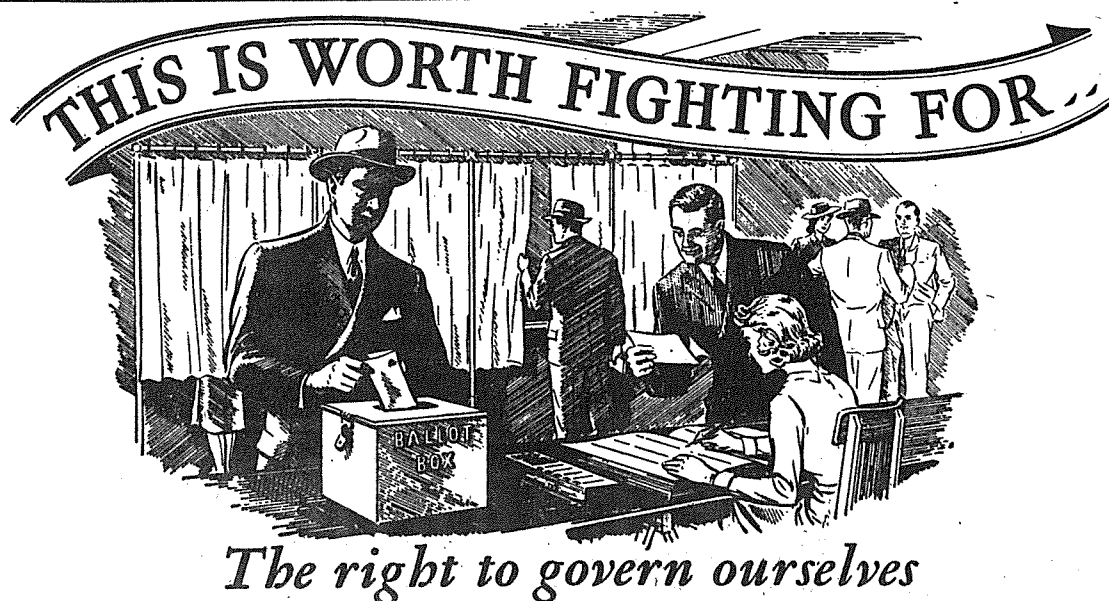
1953: "Finally, liquidated as an ideo-political current in the Soviet union, anarchism has emerged in the capitalist countries as a supporter of the bourgeois parties, attempting in vain to disorganise and demoralise the revolutionary movement."

1970: "Towards the end of the 60's, the increasing number of sections of the population (students and young people in particular) who are becoming involved in the anti-capitalist struggle brought with them strands of thought which were more or less similar to anarchism. These are recuperated by elements opposed to communism and at times directly by the imperialists."

Now, if it is now clear that the capitalist and leninist hierarchies can only attempt to ruin and recuperate any popular movement - why then did the anarchists participate in the Spanish Republican government with elements which obviously had as their main concern the physical elimination of the anarchists and the destruction of the achievements of workers self-management?

Vernon Richards sees the roots of the deviation mainly in two facts: First, a doctrine of action which points more or less to the conquest of power and tends to dismiss self-criticism and discussion. Second, that the struggle between two sections of Spanish anarchists - "treintistas" or reformists and "faistas" or activists - brought about a leadership which ended in an actual bureaucracy during the war.

Personally, I am sure there was confusion in



OBJECTIVITY AND LIBERAL SCHOLARSHIP

NOAM CHOMSKY

THE EXAMPLES OF COUNTERREVOLUTION-ary subordination that I have so far cited have for the most part been drawn from political science and the study of international, particularly Asian, affairs – rather dismal branches of American scholarship, by and large, and so closely identified with American imperial goals that one is hardly astonished to discover the widespread abandonment of civilised norms. In opening this discussion, however, I referred to a far more general issue. If it is plausible that ideology will in gen-

eral serve as a mask for self-interest, then it is a natural assumption that intellectuals, in interpreting history or formulating policy, will tend to adopt an elitist position, condemning popular movements and mass participation in decision making, and emphasising rather the necessity for supervision by those who possess the knowledge and understanding that is required (so they claim) to manage society and control social change. (eds. italics) This is hardly a novel thought. One major element in the anarchist critique of Marxism a century ago was the prediction that, as Bakunin formulated it:

“According to the theory of Mr. Marx, the people not only must not destroy [the state] but must strengthen it and place it at the complete disposal of their benefactors, guardians and teachers – the leaders of the Communist party, namely Mr. Marx and his friends, who will proceed to liberate [mankind] in their

own way. They will concentrate the reins of government in a strong hand, because the ignorant people require an exceedingly firm guardianship; they will establish a single state bank, concentrating in its hands all commercial, industrial, agricultural and even scientific production, and then divide the masses into two armies – industrial and agricultural – under the direct command of the state engineers, who will constitute a new privileged scientific-political estate.”¹

(cont. opposite page)

Introduction to “Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship” cont.

the principles of organisation, because decisions were taken by majority vote, and so big unions made a sort of hierarchy. Of course, anarchist groups in the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. could produce a tendency to this structure. This situation existed from the beginnings in 1911 to 1936, and was aggravated by the C.N.T.’s prohibition in 1923-30 and the accompanying clandestine struggle.

A comrade, with political experience in Belgium, the Soviet Union, Italy and France, wrote on the C.N.T. in 1931: “The absence of leader worship persists always; unhappily, the control exercised by the base too often shows itself in violent discussions from which are not drawn the necessary concrete conclusions regarding the replacement of those who have not properly accomplished the task they were entrusted with.” (L. Nicolas, *A travers les revolution espagnoles*, Paris, 1972, p. 19)

So it is easy to understand why we see, throughout the history of the C.N.T., the same names: Pestana and Peiro, also Buenacasa, Quintanilla, etc. This tendency was, however, much criticised by younger people – Peirats; still, it is true that, even though there was no bureaucracy in the normal sense of the word – from 1931 to 1936 there was one full time official for an organisation with a membership of up to a million people – there was another big defect; as Bakunin pointed

out: “There exists another kind of corruption (other than the revenues of certain offices) with which, unhappily, the International Association (read C.N.T. – F.M.) is not at all unfamiliar: it is that of vanity and ambition.” (Quoted by Munoz, *Bakounine – La Liberte*, Paris, 1965, p. 203)

During the Civil War, the tension and the urgency of events obliged the C.N.T. leaders to accept the collectivisations carried out by militants as a *fait accompli*. With political participation many C.N.T. militants were nominated to posts in local councils, in economic, military, provincial and governmental committees. At the same time, the more virulent critics of political participation were not accepted for the National Committee of the C.N.T. which tended – certainly – to nominate comrade they felt sure of, who agreed with the tactic of political collaboration.

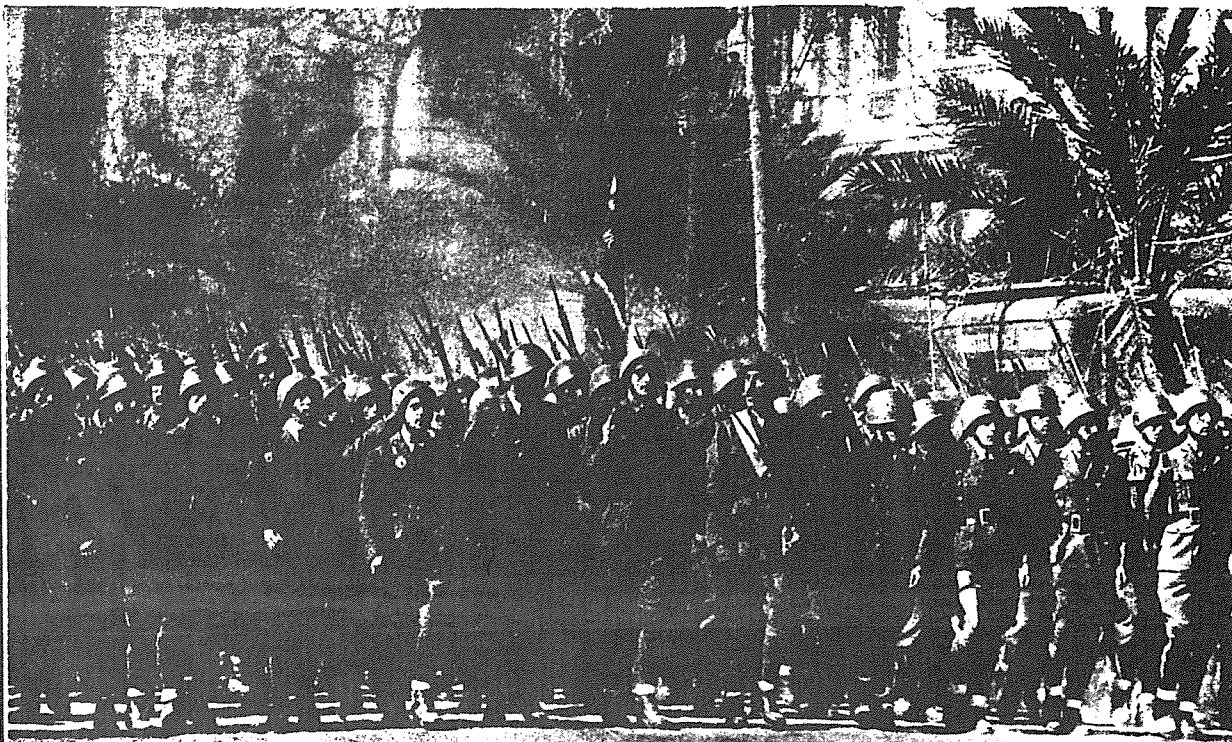
By this method not only did they participate in the running of the State, but they also formed a bureaucracy. Why? Because they carried on exactly like a marxist-leninist group or a democratic political party, with co-option (election of new members of the central committee by the very members of the central committee; as in any bank or commercial company); with the violent and important measures taken due to the “urgency” of the situation; the need to accept, to respect decisions simply to appear as a responsible organisation; the tactics decided by the vote

of the majority, the minorities having to obey and apply tactics which they felt to be negative. . .

Therefore two lessons can be drawn from the experience of anarcho-syndicalist self-management. On the one hand, the profound and lasting formation of the workers, theoretical as much as practical, during more than 60 years (1870-1939) which, when the fascist coup came, gave rise to the generalised reaction by the workers to self-manage the means of production; that is, popular spontaneity, but with many conscious workers mingled with the non-politicised, proposing and not imposing. On the other hand, the lack of respect for the very basis of anarchist ideas of organisation, that is, the revocation and automatic rotation of responsible posts – to avoid the abuse of power and to educate the largest possible number of comrades – brought about the formation of a bureaucracy which revealed itself as closed and obtuse as any other.

In the two cases mentioned, the reaction of the anarcho-syndicalist workers and of the non-politicised workers who adopted their example was to take up the idea of self-management at the same time as they combatted the bureaucracy. War and Revolution at one and the same time, as advocated by, among others, Camillo Berneri, and which Noam Chomsky describes well in the essay which follows.

Frank Mintz, 1/5/77



January 26, 1939 – Italian troops fighting for General Franco enter Barcelona.

One cannot fail to be struck by the parallel between this prediction and that of Daniel Bell, cited earlier – the prediction that in the new post-industrial society, “not only the best talents, but eventually the entire complex of social prestige and social status, will be rooted in the intellectual and scientific communities.”² Pursuing the parallel for a moment, it might be asked whether the left-wing critique of Leninist elitism can be applied, under very different conditions, to the liberal ideology of the intellectual elite that aspires to a dominant role in managing the welfare state.

Rosa Luxemburg, in 1918, argued that Bolshevik elitism would lead to a state of society in which the bureaucracy alone would remain an active element in social life – though now it would be the “red bureaucracy” of that State Socialism that Bakunin had long before described as “the most vile and terrible lie that our century has created.”³ A true social revolution requires a “spiritual transformation in the masses degraded by centuries of bourgeois class rule”;⁴ “it is only by extirpating the habits of obedience and servility to the last root that the working class can acquire the understanding of a new form of discipline, self-discipline arising from free consent.”⁵ Writing in 1904, she predicted that Lenin’s organ-

isational concepts would “enslave a young labour movement to an intellectual elite hungry for power...and turn it into an automaton manipulated by a Central Committee.”⁶ In the Bolshevik elitist doctrine of 1918 she saw a disparagement of the creative, spontaneous, self-correcting force of mass action, which alone, she argued, could solve the thousand problems of social reconstruction and produce the spiritual transformation that is the essence of a true social revolution. As Bolshevik practice hardened into dogma, the fear of popular initiative and spontaneous mass action, not under the direction and control of the properly designated vanguard, became a dominant element of so-called “Communist” ideology.

Antagonism to mass movements and to social change that escapes the control of privileged elites is also a prominent feature of contemporary liberal ideology.⁷ Expressed as foreign policy, it takes the form described earlier (*in the first section of this article – not reproduced here, eds.*) To conclude this discussion of counterrevolutionary subordination, I would like to investigate how, in one rather crucial case, this particular bias in American liberal ideology can be detected even in the interpretation of events of the past in which American involvement was rather slight, and in historical work of very high calibre.

In 1966, the American Historical Association gave its biennial award for the most outstanding work on European history to Gabriel Jackson, for his study of Spain in the 1930’s.⁸ There is no question that of the dozen books on this period, Jackson’s is among the best, and I do not doubt that the award was well deserved. The Spanish Civil War is one of the crucial events of modern history, and one of the most extensively studied as well. In it, we find the interplay of forces and ideas that have dominated European history since the industrial revolution. What is more, the relationship of Spain to the great powers was in many respects like that of the countries of what is now called the Third World. In some ways, then, the events of the Spanish Civil War give a foretaste of what the future may hold, as Third World revolutions uproot traditional societies, threaten imperial dominance, exacerbate great-power rivalries, and bring the world perilously close to a war which, if not averted, will surely be the final catastrophe of modern history. My reason for wanting to investigate an outstanding liberal analysis of the Spanish Civil War is therefore twofold: first, because of the intrinsic interest of these events; and secondly, because of the insight that this analysis may provide with respect to the underlying elitist bias which I believe to be

The Republican Army and anti-fascists cross into France to begin the long years of exile.



Foto: Cappa/Magnum

at the root of the phenomenon of counterrevolutionary subordination.

In his study of the Spanish Republic, Jackson makes no attempt to hide his own commitment in favour of liberal democracy, as represented by such figures as Azana, Casares Quiroga, Martinez Barrio,⁹ and the other "responsible national leaders." In taking this position, he speaks for much of liberal scholarship; it is fair to say that figures similar to those just mentioned would be supported by American liberals, were this possible, in Latin America, Asia or Africa. Furthermore, Jackson makes little attempt to disguise his antipathy towards the forces of popular revolution in Spain, or their goals.

It is no criticism of Jackson's study that his point of view and sympathies are expressed with such clarity. On the contrary, the value of this work as an interpretation of historical events is enhanced by the fact that the author's commitments are made so clear and explicit. But I think it can be shown that Jackson's account of the popular revolution that took place in Spain is misleading and in part quite unfair, and that the failure of objectivity it reveals is highly significant in that it is characteristic of the attitude taken by

liberal (and Communist) intellectuals towards revolutionary movements that are largely spontaneous and only loosely organised, while rooted in deeply felt needs and ideals of dispossessed masses. It is a convention of scholarship that the use of such terms as those of the preceding phrase demonstrates naivete and muddle-headed sentimentality. The convention, however, is supported by ideological conviction rather than history or investigation of the phenomena of social life. This conviction is, I think, belied by such events as the revolution that swept over much of Spain in the summer of 1936.

The circumstances of Spain in the 1930's are not duplicated elsewhere in the underdeveloped world today, to be sure. Nevertheless, the limited information that we have about popular movements in Asia, specifically, suggests certain similar features that deserve much more serious and sympathetic study than they have so far received.¹⁰ Inadequate information makes it hazardous to try to develop any such parallel, but I think it is quite possible to note long-standing tendencies in the response of liberal as well as Communist intellectuals to such mass movements.

As I have already remarked, the Spanish Civil War is not only one of the critical events of modern history but one of the most intensively studied as well. Yet there are surprising gaps. During the months following the Franco insurrection in July 1936, a social revolution of unprecedented scope took place throughout much of Spain. It had no "revolutionary vanguard" and appears to have been largely spontaneous, involving masses of urban and rural labourers in a radical transformation of social and economic conditions that persisted, with remarkable success, until it was crushed by force. This predominantly anarchist revolution and the massive social transformation to which it gave rise are treated, in recent historical studies, as a kind of aberration, a nuisance that stood in the way of successful prosecution of the war to save the bourgeois regime from the Franco rebellion. Many historians would probably agree with Eric Hobsbawm¹¹ that the failure of social revolution in Spain "was due to the anarchists," that anarchism was a "disaster", a kind of "moral gymnastics" with no "concrete results," at best, "a profoundly moving spectacle for the student of popular religion." The most



Francoist Legionnaires occupying Irun, arresting Republican and "Red" sympathisers and then liquidating them without any pretence of trial.



extensive historical study of the anarchist revolution¹² is relatively inaccessible, and neither its author, now living in southern France, nor the many refugees who will never write memoirs but who might provide invaluable personal testimony have been consulted, apparently, by writers of the major historical works.¹³ The one published collection of documents dealing with collectivisation¹⁴ has been published only by an anarchist press and hence is barely accessible to the general reader, and has also rarely been consulted – it does not, for example appear in Jackson's bibliography, though Jackson's account is intended to be a social and political, not merely a military, history. In fact, this astonishing social upheaval seems to have largely passed from memory. The drama and pathos of the Spanish Civil War have by no means faded; witness the impact a few years ago of the film *To Die in Madrid*. Yet in this film (as Daniel Guérin points out) one finds no reference to the popular revolution that had transformed much of Spanish Society.

I will be concerned here with the events of 1936-1937¹⁵ and with one particular aspect of the complex struggle involving Franco Nationalists, Republicans (including the Communist party), anarchists, and socialist workers' groups. The Franco insurrection in July 1936 came against a background of several months of strikes, expropriations, and battles between peasants and Civil Guards. The left-wing Socialist leader Largo Caballero had demanded in June that the workers be armed, but was refused by Azana. When the coup came, the Republican government was paralysed. Workers armed themselves in Madrid and Barcelona, robbing government armouries and even ships in the harbour, and put down the insurrection while the government vacillated, torn between the twin dangers of submitting to Franco and arming the working classes. In large areas of Spain effective authority passed into the hands of the anarchist and socialist workers who had played a substantial, generally dominant role in putting down the insurrection.

The next few months have frequently been described as a period of "dual power." In Barcelona industry and commerce were largely collect-

ivised, and a wave of collectivisation spread through rural areas, as well as towns and villages, in Aragon, Castille, and the Levant, and to a lesser but still significant extent in many parts of Catalonia, Asturias, Extremadura, and Andalusia. Military power was exercised by defence committees; social and economic organisation took many forms, following in main outlines the programme of the Saragossa Congress of the anarchist CNT in May 1936. The revolution was "apolitical" in the sense that its organs of power and administration remained separate from the central Republican government and, even after several anarchist leaders entered the government in the autumn of 1936, continued to function fairly independently until the revolution was finally crushed between the fascist and Communist-led Republican forces. The success of collectivisation of industry and commerce in Barcelona impressed even highly unsympathetic observers such as Borkenau. The scale of rural collectivisation is indicated by these data from anarchist sources: in Aragon, 450 collectives with half a million members; in the Levant, 900 collectives accounting for about half the agricultural production and 70 per cent of marketing in this, the richest agricultural region of Spain; in Castille, 300 collectives with about 100,000 members.¹⁶ In Catalonia, the bourgeois government headed by Companys retained nominal authority, but real power was in the hands of the anarchist-nominated committees.

The period of July through September may be characterised as one of spontaneous, widespread, but unconsummated social revolution.¹⁷ A number of anarchist leaders joined the government; the reason, as stated by Federica Montseny on January 3, 1937, was this: "... the anarchists have entered the government to prevent the revolution from deviating and in order to carry it further beyond the war, and also to oppose any dictatorial tendency, from wherever it might come."¹⁸ The central government fell increasingly under Communist control – in Catalonia, under the control of the Communist-dominated PSUC – largely as a result of the valuable Russian military assistance. Communist success was

greatest in the rich farming areas of the Levant (the government moved to Valencia, capital of one of the provinces), where prosperous farm owners flocked to the Peasant Federation that the party had organised to protect the wealthy farmers; this federation "served as a powerful instrument in checking the rural collectivisation promoted by the agricultural workers of the province."¹⁹ Elsewhere as well, counterrevolutionary successes reflected increasing Communist dominance of the Republic.



The first phase of the counterrevolution was the legalisation and regulation of those accomplishments of the revolution that appeared irreversible. A decree of October 7 by the Communist Minister of Agriculture, Vicente Uribe, legalised certain expropriations – namely, of lands belonging to participants in the Franco revolt. Of course, these expropriations had already taken place, a fact that did not prevent the Communist Press from describing the decree as "the most profoundly revolutionary measure that has been taken since the military uprising."²⁰ In fact, by exempting the estates of landowners who had not directly participated in the Franco rebellion, the decree represented a step backward, from the standpoint of the revolutionaries, and it was criticised not only by the CNT but also by the Socialist Federation of Land Workers, affiliated with the UGT. The demand for a much broader decree was unacceptable to the Communist-led ministry, since the Communist party was "seeking support among the propertied classes in the anti-Franco coup" and hence "could not afford to repel the small and medium proprietors who had been hostile to the working class movement before the civil war."²¹ These "small proprietors," in fact, seem to have included owners of substantial estates. The decree compelled tenants to continue paying rent unless the landowners had supported Franco, and by guaranteeing former landholdings, it prevented the distribution of land to the village poor. Ricardo Zabala, general secretary of the Federation of Land Workers, described the resulting situation as one of "galling injustice"; "the sycophants of the former political bosses still enjoy a privileged position at the expense of those persons who were unable to rent even the smallest parcel of land,



Julian Gorkin, a leader of the anti-Stalinist Marxist party, POUM, accused by the Stalinists of spying for the fascists, photographed at his trial in October 1938.

because they were revolutionaries."²²

To complete the stage of legalisation and restriction of what had already been achieved, a decree of October 24, 1936, promulgated by a CNT member who had become Councillor for Economy in the Catalanian Generalitat, gave legal sanction to the collectivisation of industry in Catalonia. In this case too, the step was regressive, from the revolutionary point of view. Collectivisation was limited to enterprises employing more than a hundred workers, and a variety of conditions were established that removed control from the workers' committees to the state bureaucracy.²³

The second stage of the counterrevolution, from October 1936 through May 1937, involved the destruction of the local committees, the replacement of the militia by a conventional army, and the re-establishment of the prerevolutionary social and economic system, wherever this was possible. Finally, in May 1937, came a direct attack on the working class in Barcelona (the May Days).²⁴ Following the success of this attack, the process of liquidation of the revolution was completed. The collectivisation decree of October 24 was rescinded and industries were "freed" from workers' control. Communist-led armies swept through Aragon, destroying many collectives and dismantling their organisations and, generally, bringing the area under the control of the central government. Throughout the Republican-held territories, the government, now under Communist domination, acted in accordance with the plan announced in *Pravda* on December 17, 1936: "So far as Catalonia is concerned, the cleaning up of the Trotskyist and Anarcho-Syndicalist elements there has already begun, and it will be carried out there with the same energy as in the U.S.S.R."²⁵ — and, we may add, in much the same manner.

In brief, the period from the summer of 1936 to 1937 was one of revolution and counterrevolution: the revolution was largely spontaneous with mass participation of anarchist and socialist industrial and agricultural workers; the counterrevolution was under Communist direction, the Communist party increasingly coming to represent the right wing of the Republic. During this period and after the success of the counterrevolution, the Republic was waging a war against the Franco insurrection; this has been described in great detail in numerous publications, and I will say little about it here. The Communist-led counterrevolutionary struggle must, of course, be understood against the background of the ongoing antifascist war and the more general attempt of the Soviet Union to construct a broad

anti-fascist alliance with the Western democracies. One reason for the vigorous counterrevolutionary policy of the Communists was the belief that England would never tolerate a revolutionary triumph in Spain, where England had substantial commercial interests, as did France and to a lesser extent the United States.²⁶ I will return to this matter below. However, I think it is important to bear in mind that there were undoubtedly other factors as well. Rudolf Rocker's comments are, I believe, quite to the point:

"...the Spanish people have been engaged in a desperate struggle against a pitiless foe and have been exposed besides to the secret intrigues of the great imperial powers of Europe. Despite this the Spanish revolutionaries have not grasped at the disastrous expedient of dictatorship, but have respected all honest convictions. Everyone who visited Barcelona after the July battles, whether friend or foe of the CNT, was surprised at the freedom of public life and the absence of any arrangements for suppressing the free expression of opinion.

For two decades the supporters of Bolshevism have been hammering it into the masses that dictatorship is a vital necessity for the defence of the so-called proletarian interests against the assaults of the counter-revolution and for paving the way for Socialism. They have not advanced the cause of Socialism by this propaganda, but they have merely smoothed the way for Fascism in Italy, Germany and Austria by causing millions of people to forget that dictatorship, the most extreme form of tyranny, can never lead to social liberation. In Russia, the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat has not led to Socialism, but to the domination of a new bureaucracy over the proletariat and the whole people. . .

What the Russian autocrats and their supporters fear most is that the success of libertarian Socialism in Spain might prove to their blind followers that the much vaunted "necessity of a dictatorship" is nothing but one vast fraud which in Russia has led to the despotism of Stalin and is to serve today in Spain to help the counter-revolution to a victory over the revolution of the workers and peasants."²⁷

After decades of anti-Communist indoctrination, it is difficult to achieve a perspective that makes

possible a serious evaluation of the extent to which Bolshevism and Western liberalism have been united in their opposition to popular revolution. However, I do not think that one can comprehend the events in Spain without attaining this perspective.

With this brief sketch — partisan, but I think accurate — for background, I would like to turn to Jackson's account of this aspect of the Spanish Civil War (see note 8).

Jackson presumes (p.259) that Soviet support for the Republican cause in Spain was guided by two factors: first, concern for Soviet security; second, the hope that a Republican victory would advance "the cause of worldwide 'people's revolution' with which Soviet leaders hoped to identify themselves." They did not press their revolutionary aims, he feels, because "for the moment it was essential not to frighten the middle classes or the Western governments."

As to the concern for Soviet security, Jackson is no doubt correct. It is clear that Soviet support of the Republic was one aspect of the attempt to make common cause with the Western democracies against the fascist threat. However, Jackson's conception of the Soviet Union as a revolutionary power — hopeful that a Republican victory would advance "the interrupted movement toward world revolution" and seeking to identify itself with "the cause of the world-wide 'people's revolution'" — seems to me entirely mistaken. Jackson presents no evidence to support this interpretation of Soviet policy, nor do I know of any. It is interesting to see how differently the events were interpreted at the time of the Spanish Civil War, not only by anarchists like Rocker but also by such commentators as Gerald Brenan and Franz Borkenau, who were intimately acquainted with the situation in Spain. Brenan observes that the counterrevolutionary policy of the Communists (which he thinks was "extremely sensible") was:

"the policy most suited to the Communists themselves. Russia is a totalitarian regime ruled by a bureaucracy: the frame of mind of its leaders, who have come through the most terrible upheaval in history, is cynical and opportunist: the whole fabric of the state is dogmatic and authoritarian. To expect such men to lead a social revolution in a country like Spain, where the wildest idealism is combined with great independence of character, was out of the question. The Russians could, it is true, command plenty of idealism among their foreign admirers, but they could only harness it to the creation of a cast-iron bureaucratic state, where everyone thinks alike and obeys the orders of the chief above him."²⁸

He sees nothing in Russian conduct in Spain to indicate any interest in a "people's revolution." Rather, the Communist policy was to oppose "even such rural and industrial collectives as had arisen spontaneously and flood the country with police who, like the Russian OGPU, acted on the orders of their party rather than those of the Ministry of the Interior." The Communists were concerned to suppress altogether the impulses towards "spontaneity of speech or action," since "their whole nature and history made them distrust the local and spontaneous and put their faith in order, discipline and bureaucratic uniformity" — hence placed them in opposition to the revolutionary forces in Spain. As Brenan also notes, the Russians withdrew their support once it became clear that the British would not be swayed from the policy of appeasement, a fact which gives additional confirmation to the thesis that only considerations of Russian foreign policy

Revolutionary sailors of the Spanish Navy arrested their officers, pro-Francoist in the main, and ran the ships themselves.





Andre Marty – “The Butcher of Albacete” – Stalinist commander of the International Brigades.

led the Soviet Union to support the Republic. Borkenau's analysis is similar. He approves of the Communist policy, because of its “efficiency,” but he points out that the Communists “put an end to revolutionary social activity, and enforced their view that this ought not to be a revolution but simply the defence of a legal government . . . communist policy in Spain was mainly dictated not by the necessities of the Spanish fight but by the interests of the intervening foreign power, Russia,” a country “with a revolutionary past, not a revolutionary present.” The Communists acted “not with the aim of transforming chaotic enthusiasm [which Borkenau feels to have been necessary], but with the aim of substituting disciplined military and administrative action for the action of the masses and getting rid of the latter entirely.” This policy, he points out, went “directly against the interests and claims of the masses” and thus weakened popular support. The now apathetic masses would not commit themselves to the defence of a Communist-run dictatorship, which restored former authority and even showed a definite preference for the police forces of the old regime, so hated by the masses.” It seems to me that the record strongly supports this interpretation of Communist policy and its effects, though

Borkenau's assumption that Communist “efficiency” was necessary to win the anti-Franco struggle is much more dubious – a question to which I return below.²⁹

It is relevant to observe, at this point, that a number of the Spanish Communist leaders were reluctantly forced to similar conclusions. Boloten cites several examples,³⁰ specifically, the military commander “El Campesino” and Jesus Hernandez, a minister in the Caballero government. The former, after his escape from the Soviet Union in 1949, stated that he had taken for granted the “revolutionary solidarity” of the Soviet Union during the Civil War – a most remarkable degree of innocence – and realised only later “that the Kremlin does not serve the interests of the peoples of the world, but makes them serve its own interests; that, with a treachery and hypocrisy without parallel, it makes use of the international working class as a mere pawn in its political intrigues.” Hernandez, in a speech given shortly after the Civil War, admits that the Spanish Communist leaders “acted more like Soviet subjects than sons of the Spanish people.” “It may seem absurd, incredible,” he adds, “but our education under Soviet tutelage had deformed us to such an extent that we were completely denationalised; our national soul was torn out of us and replaced by a rabidly chauvinistic internationalism, which began and ended with the towers of the Kremlin.”

Shortly after the Third World Congress of the Communist International in 1921, the Dutch “ultra-leftist” Herman Gorter wrote that the congress “has decided the fate of the world revolution for the present. The trend of opinion that seriously desired world revolution. . . has been expelled from the Russian International. The Communist Parties in western Europe and throughout the world that retain their membership of the Russian International will become nothing more than a means to preserve the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Republic.”³¹ This forecast has proved quite accurate. Jackson's conception that the Soviet Union was a revolutionary power in the late 1930's, or even that the Soviet leaders truly regarded themselves as identified with world revolution, is without factual support. It is a misinterpretation that runs parallel to the American Cold War mythology that has invented an “international Communist conspiracy” directed from Moscow (now Peking) to justify its own interventionist policies.

Turning to events in revolutionary Spain, Jackson describes the first stages of collectivisation

as follows: the unions in Madrid, “as in Barcelona and Valencia, abused their sudden authority to place the sign *incautado* [placed under workers' control] on all manner of buildings and vehicles” (p.279). Why was this an *abuse* of authority? This Jackson does not explain. The choice of words indicates a reluctance on Jackson's part to recognise the reality of the revolutionary situation, despite his account of the breakdown of Republican authority. The statement that the workers “abused their sudden authority” by carrying out collectivisation rests on a moral judgement that recalls that of Ithiel Pool, when he characterises land reform in Vietnam as a matter of “despoiling one's neighbours,” or of Franz Borkenau, when he speaks of expropriation in the Soviet Union as “robbery,” demonstrating “a streak of moral indifference.”

Within a few months, Jackson informs us, “the revolutionary tide began to ebb in Catalonia” after “accumulating food and supply problems, and the experience of administering villages, frontier posts, and the public utilities, had rapidly shown the anarchists the unsuspected complexity of modern society” (pp. 313-14). In Barcelona, “the naive optimism of the revolutionary conquests of the previous August had given way to feelings of resentment and of somehow having been cheated,” as the cost of living had doubled, bread was in short supply, and police brutality reached the levels of the monarchy. “The POUM and the anarchist press simultaneously extolled the collectivisations and explained the failures of production as due to Valencia policies of boycotting the Catalan economy and favouring the *bourgeoisie*. They explained the loss of Malaga as due in large measure to the low morale and disorientation of the Andalusian proletariat, which saw the Valencia government evolving steadily toward the right” (p.368). Jackson evidently believes that this left-wing interpretation of events was nonsensical, and that in fact it was anarchist incompetence or treachery that was responsible for the difficulties: “In Catalonia, the CNT factory committees dragged their heels on war production, claiming that the government deprived them of raw materials and was favouring the *bourgeoisie*.” (p.365).

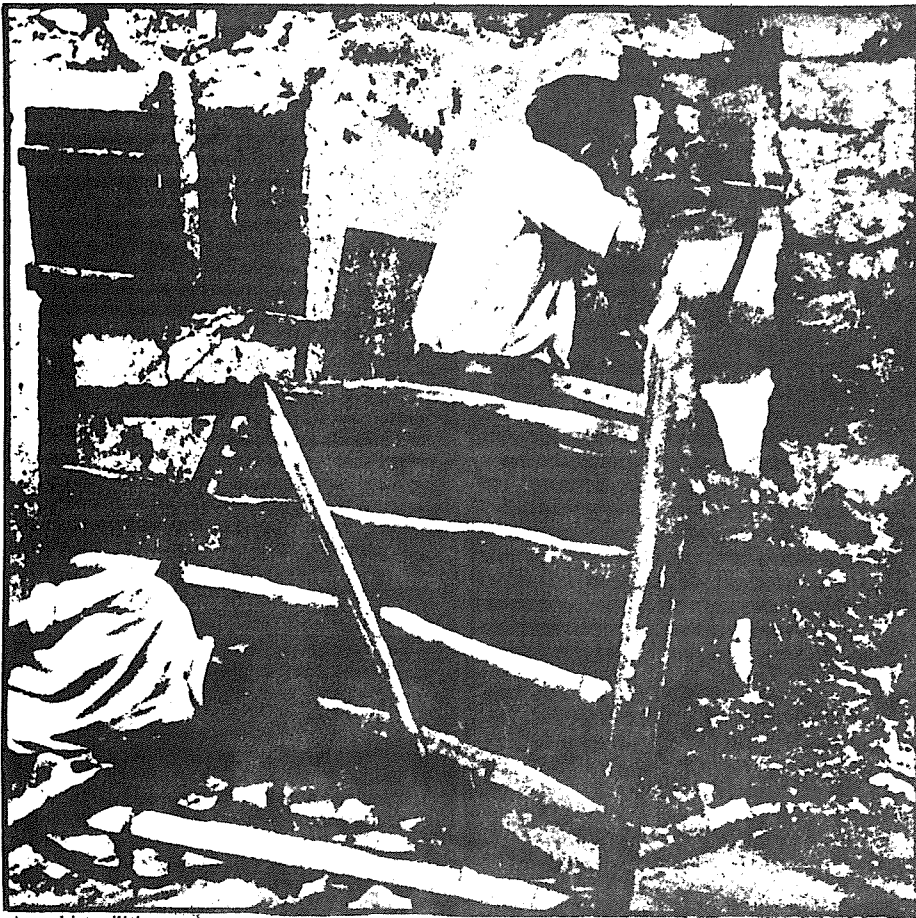
In fact, “the revolutionary tide began to ebb in Catalonia” under a middle-class attack led by the Communist party, not because of a recognition of “the complexity of modern society.” And it was, moreover, quite true that the Communist-dominated central government attempted, with much success, to hamper collectivised industry and agriculture and to disrupt the collectivisation of commerce. I have already referred to the early stages of counterrevolution. Further investigation of the sources to which Jackson refers and others show that the anarchist charges were not baseless, as Jackson implies. Boloten cites a good deal of evidence in support of his conclusion that:

“In the countryside the Communists undertook a spirited defence of the small and medium proprietor and tenant farmer against the collectivising drive of the rural wage-workers, against the policy of the labour unions prohibiting the farmer from holding more land than he could cultivate with his own hands, and against the practices of revolutionary committees, which requisitioned harvests, interfered with private trade, and collected rents from tenant farmers.”³²

The policy of the government was clearly enunciated by the Communist Minister of Agriculture: “We say that the property of the small farmer is sacred and that those who attack or attempt to attack this property must be regarded as enemies



Hans Beimler, Stalinist Commissar of the “Thaelmann Battalion” of the I.B.



Anarchist militiamen.

of the regime."³³ Gerald Brennan, no sympathiser with collectivisation, explains the failure of collectivisation as follows (p.321):

"The Central Government, and especially the Communist and Socialist members of it, desired to bring [the collectives] under the direct control of the State: they therefore failed to provide them with the credit required for buying raw materials: as soon as the supply of raw cotton was exhausted the mills stopped working. . . even [the munitions industry in Catalonia] were harassed by the new bureaucratic organs of the Ministry of Supply."³⁴

He quotes the bourgeois President of Catalonia, Companys, as saying that "workers in the arms factories in Barcelona had been working 56 hours and more each week and that no cases of sabotage or indiscipline had taken place," until the workers were demoralised by the bureaucratisation – later, militarisation – imposed by the central government and the Communist party.³⁵ His own conclusion is that "the Valencia Government was now using the P.S.U.C. against the C.N.T. – but not . . . because the Catalan workers were giving trouble, but because the Communists wished to weaken them before destroying them."

The cited correspondence from Companys to Prieto, according to Vernon Richards (p.47), presents evidence showing the success of Catalan war industry under collectivisation and demonstrating how "much more could have been achieved had the means for expanding the industry not been denied them by the Central Government." Richards also cites testimony by a spokesman for the subsecretariat of munitions and armament of the Valencia government admitting that "the war industry of Catalonia had produced ten times more than the rest of Spanish industry put together and [agreeing] . . . that this output could have been quadrupled as from the beginning of September (The quoted testimony is from September 1, 1937; presumably, the reference is to September 1936). If Catalonia had had access

to the necessary means for purchasing raw materials that were unobtainable in Spanish territory." It is important to recall that the central government had enormous gold reserves (soon to be transmitted to the Soviet Union), so that raw materials for Catalan industry could probably have been purchased, despite the hostility of the Western democracies to the Republic during the revolutionary period (see below). Furthermore, raw materials had repeatedly been requested. On September 24, 1936, Juan Fabregas, the CNT delegate to the Economic Council of Catalonia who was in part responsible for the collectivisation decree cited earlier, reported that the financial difficulties of Catalonia were created by the refusal of the central government to "give any assistance in economic and financial questions, presumably because it has little sympathy with the work of a practical order which is being carried on in Catalonia"³⁶ – that is, collectivisation. He "went on to recount that a Commission which went to Madrid to ask for credits to purchase war materials and raw materials, offering 1,000 million pesetas in securities lodged in the Bank of Spain, met with a blank refusal. It was sufficient that the new war industry in Catalonia was controlled by the workers of the CNT for the Madrid Government to refuse any unconditional aid. Only in exchange for government control would they give any financial assistance."³⁷

Broue and Temime take a rather similar position. Commenting on the charge of "incompetence" levelled against the collectivised industries, they point out that "one must not neglect the terrible burden of the war." Despite this burden, they observe, "new techniques of management and elimination of dividends had permitted a lowering of prices" and "mechanisation and rationalisation, introduced in numerous enterprises, had considerably augmented production. The workers accepted the enormous sacrifices with

enthusiasm because, in most cases, they had the conviction that the factory belonged to them and that at last they were working for themselves and their class brothers. A truly new spirit had come over the economy of Spain with the concentration of scattered enterprises, the simplification of commercial patterns, a significant structure of social projects for aged workers, children, disabled, sick and the personell in general" (pp. 150-51). The great weakness of the revolution, they argue, was the fact that it was not carried through to completion. In part this was because of the war; in part, a consequence of the policies of the central government. They too emphasise the refusal of the Madrid government, in the early stages of collectivisation, to grant credits or supply funds to collectivised industry or agriculture – in the case of Catalonia, even when substantial guarantees were offered by the Catalanian government. Thus the collectivised enterprises were forced to exist on what assets had been seized at the time of the revolution. The control of gold and credit "permitted the government to restrict and prevent the function of collective enterprises at will" (p. 144).

According to Broue and Temime, it was the restriction of credit that finally destroyed collectivised industry. The Companys government in Catalonia refused to create a bank for industry and credit, as demanded by the CNT and POUM, and the central government (relying, in this case, on control of the banks by the socialist UGT) was able to control the flow of capital and "to reserve credit for private enterprise." All attempts to obtain credit for collectivised industry were unsuccessful, they maintain, and "the movement of collectivisation was restricted, then halted, the government remaining in control of industry through the medium of the banks. . . [and later] through its control of the choice of managers and directors," who often turned out to be the former owners and managers, under new titles. The situation was similar in the case of collectivised agriculture (pp.204 f.).

The situation was duly recognised in the West. The *New York Times*, in February 1938, observed: "The principle of State intervention and control of business and industry, as against workers' control of them in the guise of collectivisation, is gradually being established in Loyalist Spain by a series of decrees now appearing. Coincidentally there is to be established the principle of private ownership and the rights of corporations and companies to what is lawfully theirs under the Constitution."³⁸

Morrow cites (pp. 64-65) a series of acts by the Catalanian government restricting collectivisation, once power had shifted away from the new institutions set up by the workers' revolution of July 1936. On February 3, the collectivisation of the dairy trade was declared illegal.³⁹ In April, "the Generalidad annulled workers' control over the customs by refusing to certify workers' ownership of material that had been exported and was being tied up in foreign courts by suits of former owners; henceforth the factories and agricultural collectives exporting goods were at the mercy of the government." In May, as has already been noted, the collectivisation decree of October 24 was rescinded, with the argument that the decree "was dictated without competency by the Generalidad," because "there was not, nor is there yet, legislation of the [Spanish] state to apply" and "article 44 of the Constitution declares expropriation and socialisation are functions of the State." A decree of August 28 "gave the government the right to intervene in or take over any mining or metallurgical plant." The anarchist newspaper *Solidaridad Obrera* reported in October a decision of the department of purch-

ases of the Ministry of Defence that it would make contracts for purchases only with enterprises functioning "on the basis of their old owners" or "under the corresponding intervention controlled by the Ministry of Finance and Economy." 40

Returning to Jackson's statement that "In Catalonia, the CNT factory committees dragged their heels on war production, claiming that the government deprived them of raw materials and was favouring the *bourgeoisie*," I believe one must conclude that this statement is more an expression of Jackson's bias in favour of capitalist democracy than a description of the historical facts. At the very least, we can say this much: Jackson presents no evidence to support his conclusion; there is a factual basis for questioning it. I have cited a number of sources that the liberal historian would regard, quite correctly, as biased in favour of the revolution. My point is that the failure of objectivity, the deep-seated bias of liberal historians, is a matter much less normally taken for granted, and that there are good grounds for supposing that this failure of objectivity has seriously distorted the judgements that are rather brashly handed down about the nature of the Spanish revolution.

Continuing with the analysis of Jackson's judgements, unsupported by any cited evidence, consider his remark, quoted above, that in Barcelona "the naive optimism of the revolutionary conquests of the previous August had given way to feelings of resentment and of somehow having been cheated." It is a fact that by January 1937 there was great disaffection in Barcelona. But was this simply a consequence of "the unsuspected complexity of modern society"? Looking into the matter a bit more closely, we see a rather different picture. Under Russian pressure, the PSUC was given substantial control of the Catalan government, "putting into the Food Ministry [in December 1936] the man most to the Right in present Catalan politics, Comorera"⁴¹ — by virtue of his political views, the most willing collaborator with the general Communist party position. According to Jackson, Comor-

Juan Comorera, secretary-general of the PSUC. He regarded the fight against anarchism as the chief aim of socialist policy in Spain. Appointed Food Minister in December 1936 he abolished the anarchist organised bread committees which led to great hardship among the working class.



era "immediately took steps to end barter and requisitioning, and became a defender of the peasants against the revolution" (p. 314); he "ended requisition, restored money payments, and protected the Catalan peasants against further collectivisation" (p. 361). This is all that Jackson has to say about Juan Comorera.

We learn more from other sources: for example, Borkenau, who was in Barcelona for the second time in January 1937 — and is universally recognised as a highly knowledgeable and expert observer, with strong anti-anarchist sentiments. According to Borkenau, Comorera represented "a political attitude which can best be compared with that of the extreme right wing of the German social-democracy. He had always regarded the fight against anarchism as the chief aim of socialist policy in Spain. . . To his surprise, he found unexpected allies for his dislike [of anarchist policies] in the communists"⁴². It was impossible to reverse collectivisation of industry at that stage in the process of counterrevolution;

Comorera did succeed, however, in abolishing the system by which the provisioning of Barcelona had been organised, namely, the village committees, mostly under CNT influence, which had co-operated (perhaps, Borkenau suggests, unwillingly) in delivering flour to the towns. Continuing, Borkenau describes the situation as follows:

"...Comorera, starting from those principles of abstract liberalism which no administration has followed during the war, but of which right-wing socialists are the last and most religious admirers, did not substitute for the chaotic bread committees a centralised administration. He restored private commerce in bread, simply and completely. There was, in January, not even a system of rationing in Barcelona. Workers were simply left to get their bread, with wages which had hardly changed since May, at increased prices, as well as they could. In practice it meant that the women had to form queues from four o'clock in the morning onwards. The resentment in the working-class districts was naturally acute, the more so as the scarcity of bread rapidly increased after Comorera had taken office."⁴³

In short, the workers of Barcelona were not merely giving way to "feelings of resentment and of somehow having been cheated" when they learned of "the unsuspected complexity of modern society." Rather, they had good reason to believe that they were being cheated, by the old dog with the new collar.

George Orwell's observations are also highly relevant:

"Everyone who has made two visits, in intervals of months, to Barcelona during the war has remarked upon the extraordinary changes that took place in it. And curiously enough, whether they went there first in August and again in January, or, like myself, first in December and again in April, the thing they said was always the same: that the revolutionary atmosphere had vanished. No doubt to anyone who had been there in August, when the blood was scarcely dry in the streets and militia were quartered in the small hotels, Barcelona in December would have seemed bourgeois; to me, fresh from England, it was like to a workers' city than anything I had conceived possible. Now [in April] the tide had rolled back. Once again it was an ordinary city, a little pinched and chipped by war, but with no outward sign of working class predominance. . . Fat prosperous men, elegant women, and sleek cars were everywhere. . . The officers of the new Popular Army, a type that had scarcely existed when I left Barcelona, swarmed in surprising numbers. . . [wearing] an elegant khaki uniform with a tight waist, like a British Army officer's uniform, only



a little more so. I do not suppose that more than one in twenty of them had yet been to the front, but all of them had automatic pistols strapped to their belts; we, at the front, could not get pistols for love or money. . . [Orwell had just returned from the Aragon front, where he had been serving with the POUM militia in an area heavily dominated by leftwing (POUM and anarchist) troops]. A deep change had come over the town. There were two facts that were the keynote of all else. One was that the people — the civil population — had lost much of their interest in the war; the other was that the normal division of society into rich and poor, upper class and lower class was reasserting itself."⁴⁴

Whereas Jackson attributes the ebbing of the revolutionary tide to the discovery of the unsuspected complexity of modern society, Orwell's first-hand observations, like those of Borkenau, suggest a far simpler explanation. What calls for explanation is not the disaffection of the workers of Barcelona but the curious constructions of the historian.

Let me repeat, at this point, Jackson's comments regarding Juan Comorera: Comorera "immediately took steps to end barter and requisitioning, and became a defender of the peasants against the revolution"; he "ended requisitions, restored money payments, and protected the Catalan peasants against further collectivisation." These comments imply that the peasantry of Catalonia was, as a body, opposed to the revolution and that Comorera put a stop to the collectivisation that they feared. Jackson nowhere indicates any divisions among the peasantry on this issue and offers no support for the implied claim that collectivisation was in process at the period of Comorera's access to power. In fact, it is questionable that Comorera's rise to power affected the course of collectivisation in Catalonia. Evidence is difficult to come by, but it seems that collectivisation of agriculture in Catalonia was not, in any event, extensive, and that it was not extending in December when Comorera took office. We know from anarchist sources that there had been instances of forced collectivisation in Catalonia,⁴⁵ but I can find no evidence that Comorera protected the "peasantry" from forced collectivisation. Furthermore, it is misleading, at best, to imply that the peasantry as a whole was opposed to collectivisation. A more accurate picture is presented by Bolloten (p. 56), who points out that "if the individual farmer viewed with dismay the swift and widespread development of collectivised agriculture, the farmworkers of the Anarchosindicalist CNT and the Socialist UGT saw in it, on the contrary, the commencement of a new era." In short, there was a complex class struggle in the countryside, though one learns little about it from Jackson's oversimplified and misleading account. It would seem fair to suppose that this distortion again reflects Jackson's antipathy towards the revolution and its goals. I will return to this question directly, with reference to areas where agricultural collectivisation was much more extensive than in Catalonia.

The complexities of modern society that baffled and confounded the unsuspecting anarchist workers of Barcelona, as Jackson enumerates them, were the following: the accumulating food and supply problems and the administration of frontier posts, villages, and public utilities. As just noted, the food and supply problems seem to have accumulated most rapidly under the brilliant leadership of Juan Comorera. So far as the

frontier posts are concerned, the situation, as Jackson elsewhere describes it (p.368), was basically as follows: "In Catalonia the anarchists had, ever since July 18, controlled the customs stations at the French border. On April 17, 1937, the reorganised carabineros, acting on orders of the Finance Minister, Juan Negrin, began to re-occupy the frontier. At least eight anarchists were killed in clashes with the carabineros." Apart from this difficulty, admittedly serious, there seems little reason to suppose that the manning of frontier posts contributed to the ebbing of the revolutionary tide. The available records do not indicate that the problems of administering villages or public utilities were either "unsuspected" or too complex for the Catalanian workers — a remarkable and unsuspected development, but one which nevertheless appears to be borne out by the evidence available to us. I want to emphasise again that Jackson presents no evidence to support his conclusions about the ebbing of the revolutionary tide and the reasons for the disaffection of the Catalanian workers. Once again, I think it fair to attribute his conclusions to the elitist bias of the liberal intellectual rather than to the historical record.

Consider next Jackson's comment that the anarchists "explained the loss of Malaga as due in large measure to the low morale and the disorientation of the Andalusian proletariat, which saw the Valencia government evolving steadily toward the right." Again, it seems that Jackson regards this as just another indication of the naive and unreasonableness of the Spanish anarchists. However, here again there is more to the story. One of the primary sources that Jackson cites is Borkenau, quite naturally, since Borkenau spent several days in the area just prior to the fall of Malaga on February 8, 1937. But Borkenau's detailed observations tend to

bear out the anarchist "explanation," at least in part. He believed that Malaga might have been saved, but only by a "fight of despair" with mass involvement, of a sort that "the anarchists might have led." But two factors prevented such a defence, Lieutenant Colonel Villalba, "interpreted this task as a purely military one, whereas in reality he had no military means at his disposal but only the forces of a popular movement"; he was a professional officer, "who in the secrecy of his heart hated the spirit of the militia" and was incapable of comprehending the "political factor."⁴⁶ A second factor was the significant decline, by February, of political consciousness and mass involvement. The anarchist committees were no longer functioning and the authority of the police and Civil Guards had been restored. "The nuisance of hundreds of independent village police bodies had disappeared, but with it the passionate interest of the village in the civil war . . . The short interlude of the Spanish Soviet system was at an end" (p. 212). After reviewing the local situation in Malaga and the conflicts in the Valencia government (which failed to provide support or arms for the militia defending Malaga), Borkenau concludes (p. 228): "The Spanish republic paid with the fall of Malaga for the decision of the Right wing of its camp to make an end of social revolution and of its Left wing not to allow that." Jackson's discussion of the fall of Malaga refers to the terror and political rivalries within the town but makes no reference to the fact that Borkenau's description, and the accompanying interpretation, do support the belief that the defeat was due in large measure to low morale and the incapacity, or unwillingness, of the Valencia government to fight a popular war. On the contrary, he concludes that Colonel Villalba's lack of means for "controlling the bitter political rivalries" was one factor

that prevented him from carrying out the essential military tasks. Thus he seems to adopt the view that Borkenau condemns, that the task was a "purely military one." Borkenau's eyewitness account appears to me much more convincing.

In this case too Jackson has described the situation in a somewhat misleading fashion, perhaps again because of the elitist bias that dominates the liberal-Communist interpretation of the Civil War. Like Lieutenant Colonel Villalba, liberal historians often reveal a strong distaste for "the forces of a popular movement" and "the spirit of the militia." And an argument can be given that they correspondingly fail to comprehend the "political factor."



Luigi Bertoni, companion of Camillo Berneri, was an untiring anarchist propagandist. From 1900 to 1940 he was the editor, compositor, printer and administrator of the anarchist fortnightly *Le Reveil*.

In the May Days of 1937, the revolution in Catalonia received the final blow. On May 3, the councillor for public order, PSUC member Rodriguez Salas, appeared at the central telephone building with a detachment of police, without prior warning or consultation with the anarchist ministers in the government, to take over the telephone exchange. The exchange, formerly the property of ITT, had been captured by Barcelona workers in July and had since functioned under the control of a UGT-CNT committee, with a governmental delegate, quite in accord with the collectivisation decree of October 24, 1936. According to the London *Daily Worker* (May 11, 1937), "Salas sent the armed republican police to disarm the employees there, most of them members of the CNT unions." The motive, according to Juan Comorera, was "to put a stop to an abnormal situation," namely, that no one could speak over the telephone "without the indiscreet ear of the controller knowing about it."⁴⁷ Armed resistance in the telephone building prevented its occupation. Local defence committees erected barricades throughout Barcelona. Companys and the anarchist leaders pleaded with the workers to disarm. An uneasy truce continued until May 6, when the first detachments of Assault Guards arrived, violating the promises of the government that the truce would be observed and military forces withdrawn. The troops were under the command of General Pozas, formerly commander of the hated Civil Guard and now a member of the Communist party. In the fighting that followed, there were some five hundred killed and over a thousand wounded. "The May Days in reality sounded the death-knell of the revolution, announcing political defeat for all and for certain of the revolutionary leaders."⁴⁸ These events — of enormous significance in the history of the Spanish revolution — Jackson sketches in bare outline as a marginal incident. Obviously the historian's account must be selective; from the left-liberal point of view that Jackson shares with Hugh Thomas and many others, the liquidation of the revolution in Catalonia was a minor event, as the revolution itself was merely a kind of irrelevant nuisance, a minor irritant diverting energy from the struggle to save the bourgeois government. The decision to crush the revolution by force is described as follows:

"On May 5, Companys obtained a fragile truce, on the basis of which the PSUC councillors were to retire from the regional government, and the question of

"In Barcelona, during all those last weeks I spent there, there was a peculiar evil feeling in the air — an atmosphere of suspicion, fear, uncertainty, and veiled hatred. The May fighting had left ineradicable after-effects behind it. With the fall of the Caballero Government the Communists had come definitely into power, the charge of internal order had been handed over to Communist Ministers, and no one doubted they would smash their political rivals as soon as they got a quarter of a chance. . . ." George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, p. 186.



the Telephone Company was left to future negotiation. That very night, however, Antonio Sese, a UGT official who was about to enter the reorganised cabinet, was murdered. In any event, the Valencia authorities were in no mood to temporise further with the Catalan Left. On May 6 several thousand *asaltos* arrived in the city, and the Republican Navy demonstrated in the port.⁴⁹

What is interesting about this description is what is left unsaid. For example, there is no comment on the fact that the dispatch of *asaltos* violated the "fragile truce" that had been accepted by the Barcelona workers and the anarchist and the POUM troops nearby, and barely a mention of the bloody consequences or the political meaning of this unwillingness "to temporise further with the Catalan Left." There is no mention of the fact that along with Sese, Berneri and other anarchist leaders were murdered, not only during the May Days but in the weeks preceding.⁵⁰ Jackson does not refer to the fact that along with the Republican navy, British ships also "demonstrated" in the port.⁵⁰ Nor does he refer to

Orwell's telling observations about the Assault Guards, as compared to the troops at the front, where he had spent the preceding months. The Assault Guards "were splendid troops, much the best I had seen in Spain . . . I was used to the ragged, scarcely-armed militia on the Aragon front, and I had not known the Republic possessed troops like these . . . The Civil Guards and Carabineros, who were not intended for the front at all, were better armed and far better clad than ourselves. I suspect it is the same in all wars — always the same contrast between the sleek police in the rear and the ragged soldiers in the line."⁵²

The contrast reveals a good deal about the nature of the war, as it was understood by the Valencia government. Later, Orwell was to make this conclusion explicit: "A government which sends boys of fifteen to the front with rifles forty years old and keeps its biggest men and newest weapons in the rear is manifestly more afraid of revolution than of the fascists. Hence the feeble war policy of the past six months, and hence the compromise with which the war will almost certainly end."⁵³ Jackson's account of these events, with its omissions and assumptions, suggests that he perhaps shares the view that the greatest danger in Spain would have been a victory of the revolution.

Jackson apparently discounts Orwell's testimony, to some extent, commenting that "the readers should bear in mind Orwell's own honest statement that he knew very little about the political complexities of the struggle." This is a strange comment. For one thing, Orwell's analysis of the "political complexities of the struggle" bear up rather well after thirty years; if it is defective, it is probably in his tendency to give too much prominence to the POUM in comparison with the anarchists — not surprising, in view of the fact that he was with the POUM militia. His exposure of the fatuous nonsense that was appearing at the time in the Stalinist and liberal presses appears quite accurate, and later discoveries have given little reason to challenge the basic facts that he reported or the interpretation that he proposed in the heat of the conflict. Orwell does, in fact, refer to his own "political ignorance." Commenting on the final defeat of the revolution in May, he states: "I realised — though owing to my political ignorance, not so clearly as I ought to have done — that when the Government felt more sure of itself there would be reprisals." But this form of "political ignorance" has simply been compounded in recent more historical work.



Juan Negrín: "unconditional defender of capitalist property and resolute adversary of collectivisation."

Shortly after the May Days, the Caballero government fell and Juan Negrín became premier of Republican Spain. Negrín is described as follows, by Broue and Temime: "... he is an unconditional defender of capitalist property and resolute adversary of collectivisation, whom the CNT ministers find blocking all of their proposals. He is the one who solidly reorganised the carabineros and presided over the transfer of the gold reserves of the Republic to the USSR. He enjoyed the confidence of the moderates . . . [and] was on excellent terms with the Communists."

The first major act of the Negrín government was the suppression of the POUM and the consolidation of central government over Catalonia. The government next turned to Aragon, which had been largely under anarchist control since the first days of the revolution, and where agricultural collectivisation was quite extensive and Communist elements very weak. The municipal councils of Aragon were co-ordinated by the Council of Aragon, headed by Joaquín Ascaso, a well-known CNT militant, one of whose brothers had been killed during the May Days. Under the Caballero government, the anarchists had agreed to give representation to other antifascist parties, including the Communists, but the majority remained anarchist. In August the Negrín government announced the dissolution of the Council of Aragon and dispatched a division of the Spanish Army, commanded by the Communist officer Enrique Lister, to enforce the dissolution of the local committees, dismantle the collectives, and establish central government control. Ascaso was arrested on the charge of having been responsible for the robbery of jewellery — namely the jewellery "robbed" by the Council for its own use in the fall of 1936. The local anarchist press was suppressed in favour of a Communist journal, and in general local anarchist centres were forcefully occupied and closed. The last anarchist stronghold was captured, with tanks and artillery, on September 21. Because of government imposed censorship, there is very little of a direct record of these events, and the major histories pass over them quickly.⁵⁴ According to Morrow, "the official CNT press . . . compared the assault on Aragon with the subjection of Asturias by López Ochoa in October 1934" — the latter, one of the bloodiest acts of repression in modern Spanish history. Although this

is an exaggeration, it is a fact that the popular organs of administration were wiped out by Lister's legions, and the revolution was now over, so far as Aragon was concerned.

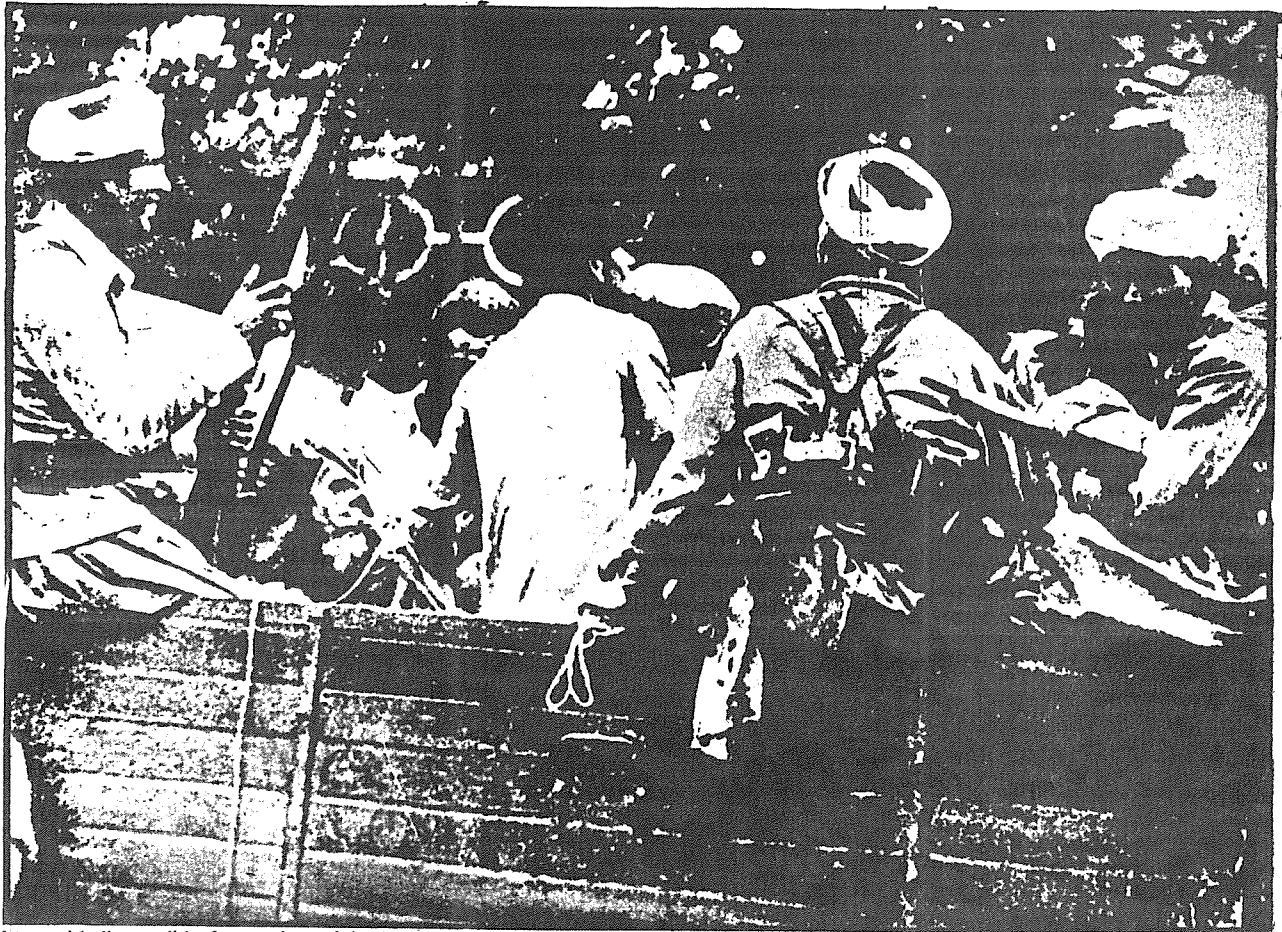
About these events, Jackson has the following comments:

"On August 11 the government announced the dissolution of the *Consejo de Aragon*, the anarchist-dominated administration which had been recognised by Largo Caballero in December, 1936. The peasants were known to hate the Consejo, the anarchists had deserted the front during the Barcelona fighting, and the very existence of the Consejo was a standing challenge to the authority of the central government. For all these reasons Negrín did not hesitate to send in troops, and to arrest the anarchist officials. Once their authority had been broken, however, they were released."⁵⁵

These remarks are most interesting. Consider first the charge that the anarchists had deserted the front during the May Days. It is true that elements of certain anarchist and POUM divisions were prepared to march on Barcelona, but after the "fragile truce" was established on May 5, they did not do so; no anarchist forces even approached Barcelona to defend the Barcelona proletariat and its institutions from attack. However, a motorised column of 5,000 Assault Guards was sent from the front by the government to break the "fragile truce."⁵⁶ Hence the only forces to "desert the front" during the Barcelona fighting were those dispatched by the government to complete the job of dismantling the revolution, by force. Recall Orwell's observations quoted earlier.

What about Jackson's statement that "the peasants were known to hate the Consejo"? As in the other cases I have cited, Jackson gives no indication of any evidence on which such a judgement might be based. The most detailed investigation of the collectives is from anarchist sources, and they indicate that Aragon was one of the areas where collectivisation was most widespread and successful.⁵⁷ Both the CNT and the UGT Land Workers' Federation were vigorous in their support for collectivisation, and there is no doubt that both were mass organisations. A number of non-anarchists, observing collectivisation in Aragon firsthand, gave very favourable reports and stressed the voluntary character of collectivisation.⁵⁸ According to Gaston Leval, an anarchist observer who carried out detailed investigation of rural collectivisation, "in Aragon 75 per cent of small proprietors have voluntarily adhered to the new order of things," and others were not forced to involve themselves in collectives.⁵⁹ Other anarchist observers — Augustin Souchy in particular — gave detailed observations of the functioning of the Aragon collectives. Unless one is willing to assume a fantastic degree of falsification, it is impossible to reconcile their descriptions with the claim that "the peasants were known to hate the Consejo" — unless, of course, one restricts the term "peasant" to "individual farm owner," in which case it might very well be true, but would justify disbanding the Council only on the assumption that the rights of the individual farm owner must predominate, not those of the landless worker. There is little doubt that the collectives were economically successful,⁶⁰ hardly likely if collectivisation were forced and hated by the peasantry.

I have already cited Bolloten's general conclusion, based on very extensive documentary evidence, that while the individual farmer may have viewed the development of collectivised agricul-



Moroccan troops escorting Republican POW's in Seville.

ture with dismay, "the farmworkers of the Anarchosyndicalist CNT and the Socialist UGT saw in it, on the contrary, the commencement of a new era." This conclusion seems quite reasonable, on the basis of the materials that are available. With respect to Aragon, specifically, he remarks that the "debt-ridden peasants were strongly affected by the ideas of the CNT and FAI, a factor that gave a powerful spontaneous impulse to collective farming," though difficulties are cited by anarchist sources, which in general appear to be quite honest about failures. Bolloten cites two Communist sources, among others, to the effect that about 70 per cent of the population in rural areas of Aragon lived in collectives (p. 71); he adds that "many of the region's 450 collectives were largely voluntary," although "the presence of militiamen from the neighbouring region of Catalonia, the immense majority of whom were members of the CNT and FAI" was "in some measure" responsible for the extensive collectivisation. He also points out that in many instances peasant proprietors who were not compelled to adhere to the collective system did so for other reasons: "... not only were they prevented from employing hired labour and disposing freely of their crops... but they were often denied all benefits enjoyed by members" (p. 72). Bolloten cites the attempt of the Communists in April 1937 to cause dissension in "areas where the CNT and UGT had established collective farms by mutual agreement" (p. 195), leading in some cases to pitched battles and dozens of assassinations, according to CNT sources. 61 Bolloten's detailed analysis of the events of the summer of 1937 sheds considerable light on the question of peasant attitudes towards collectivisation in Aragon:

"It was inevitable that the attacks on the collectives should have had an unfavourable effect upon rural economy and upon

morale, for while it is true that in some areas collectivisation was anathema to the majority of peasants, it is no less true that in others collective farms were formed spontaneously by the bulk of the peasant population. In Toledo province, for example, where even before the war rural collectives existed, 83 per cent of the peasants, according to a source friendly to the Communists, decided in favour of the collective cultivation of the soil. As the campaign against the collective farms reached its height just before the summer harvest [1937]... a pall of dismay and apprehension descended upon the agricultural labourers. Work in the fields was abandoned in many places or only carried on apathetically, and there was danger that a substantial portion of the harvest, vital for the war effort, would be left to rot." (P. 196)

It was under these circumstances, he points out, that the Communists were forced to change their policy and — temporarily — to tolerate the collectives. A decree was passed legalising collectives "during the current agricultural year" (his italics) and offering them some aid. This "produced a sense of relief in the countryside during the vital period of the harvest." Immediately after the crops had been gathered, the policy changed once again to one of harsh repression. Bolloten cites Communist sources to the effect that a "short though fierce campaign at the beginning of August" prepared the way for the dissolution of the Council of Aragon. Following the dissolution decree, "the newly appointed Governor General, Jose Ignacio Mantecon, a member of the Left Republican Party, but a secret Communist sympathiser [who joined the party in exile, after the war]... ordered the break-up of the collective farms." The means: Lister's

division, which restored the old order by force and terror. Bolloten cites Communist sources conceding the excessive harshness of Lister's methods. He quotes the Communist general secretary of the Institute of Agrarian Reform, who admits that the measures taken to dissolve the collectives were "a very grave mistake, and produced tremendous disorganisation in the countryside," as "those persons who were discontented with the collectives... took them by assault, carrying away and dividing up the harvest and farm implements without respecting the collectives that had been formed without violence or pressure, that were prosperous, and that were a model of organisation..." As a result, labour in the fields was suspended almost entirely, and a quarter of the land had not been prepared at the time for sowing" (p. 200). Once again, it was necessary to ameliorate the harsh repression of the collectives, to prevent disaster. Summarising these events, Bolloten describes the resulting situation as follows:

"But although the situation in Aragon improved in some degree, the hatreds and resentments generated by the break-up of the collectives and by the repression that followed were never wholly dispelled. Nor was the resultant disillusionment that sapped the spirit of the Anarchosyndicalist forces on the Aragon front ever entirely removed, a disillusionment that no doubt contributed to the collapse of that front a few months later... after the destruction of the collective farms in Aragon, the Communist Party was compelled to modify its policy, and support collectives also in other regions against former owners who sought the return of confiscated land..." (Pp 200-201).

Returning to Jackson's remarks, I think we must conclude that they seriously misrepresent the

situation.⁶² The dissolution of the Council of Aragon and the large-scale destruction of the collectives by military force was simply another stage in the eradication of the popular revolution and the restoration of the old order. Let me emphasise that I am not criticising Jackson for his negative attitude towards the social revolution, but rather for the failure of objectivity when he deals with the revolution and the ensuing repression.

Among historians of the Spanish Civil War, the dominant view is that the Communist policy was in essentials the correct one – that in order to consolidate domestic and international support for the Republic it was necessary to block and then reverse the social revolution. Jackson, for example, states that Caballero “realised that it was absolutely necessary to rebuild the authority of the Republican state and to work in close co-operation with the middle-class liberals.” The anarchist leaders who entered the government shared this view, putting their trust in the good faith of liberals such as Companys and believing – naively, as events were to show – that the Western democracies would come to their aid.

A policy diametrically opposed to this was advocated by Camillo Berneri. In his open letter to the anarchist minister Federica Montseny⁶³ he summarises his views in the following way: “The dilemma, war or revolution, no longer has meaning. *The only dilemma is this: either victory over Franco through revolutionary war, or defeat*” (his italics). He argued that Morocco should be granted independence and that an attempt should be made to stir up rebellion throughout North Africa. Thus a revolutionary struggle should be undertaken against Western capitalism in North Africa and, simultaneously, against the bourgeois regime in Spain, which was gradually dismantling the accomplishments of the July revolution. The primary front should be political. Franco relied heavily on Moorish contingents, including a substantial number from French Morocco. The Republic might exploit this fact, demoralising the Nationalist forces and perhaps even winning them to the revolutionary cause by political agitation based on the concrete alternative of pan-Islamic – specifically, Moroccan – revolution. Writing in April 1937, Berneri urged that the army of the Republic be reorganised for the defence of the revolution, so that it might recover the spirit of popular participation of the early days of the revolution. He quotes the words of his compatriot Louis Bertoni, writing from the Huesca front:

“The Spanish war, deprived of all new faith, of any idea of a social transformation, of all revolutionary grandeur, of any universal meaning, is now merely a national war of independence that must be carried on to avoid the extermination that the international plutocracy demands. There remains a terrible question of life or death, but no longer a war to build a new society and a new humanity.”

In such a war, the human element that might bring victory over fascism is lost.

In retrospect, Berneri's ideas seem quite reasonable. Delegations of Moroccan nationalists did in fact approach the Valencia government asking for arms and material, but were refused by Caballero, who actually proposed territorial concessions in North Africa to France and England to try to win their support. Commenting on these facts, Broue and Temime observe that these policies deprived the Republic of “the instrument of revolutionary defeatism in the enemy army,” and even of a possible weapon against Italian intervention. Jackson, on the other hand, dis-

misses Berneri's suggestion with the remark that independence for Morocco (as for that matter, even aid to the Moroccan nationalists) was “a gesture that would have been highly appreciated in Paris and London.” Of course it is correct that France and Britain would hardly have appreciated this development. As Berneri points out, “it goes without saying that one cannot simultaneously guarantee French and British interests in Morocco and carry out an insurrection.” But Jackson's comment does not touch on the central issue, namely, whether the Spanish revolution could have been preserved, both from the fascists at the front and from the bourgeois-Communist coalition within the Republic, by a revolutionary war of the sort that the left proposed – or, for that matter, whether the Republic might not have been saved by a political struggle that involved Franco's invading Moorish troops, or at least eroded their morale. It is easy to see why Caballero was not attracted by this bold scheme, given his reliance on the eventual backing of the Western democracies. On the basis of what we know today, however, Jackson's summary dismissal of revolutionary war is much too abrupt.

Furthermore, Bertoni's observations from the Huesca front are borne out by much other evidence, some of it cited earlier. Even those who accepted the Communist strategy of discipline and central control as necessary concede that the repressions that formed an ineliminable part of this strategy “tended to break the fighting spirit of the people.”⁶⁴ One can only speculate, but it seems to me that many commentators have seriously underestimated the significance of the political factor, the potential strength of a popular struggle to defend the achievements of the revolution. It is perhaps relevant that Asturias, the one area of Spain where the system of CNT-UGT committees was not eliminated in favour of central control, is also the one area where guerrilla warfare continued well after Franco's victory. Broue and Temime observe⁶⁵ that the resistance of the partisans of Asturias “demonstrates the depth of the revolutionary élan, which had not been shattered by the re-institution of state authority, conducted here with great prudence.” There can be no doubt that the revolution was both widespread and deeply rooted in the Spanish masses. It seems quite possible that a revolutionary war of the sort advocated by Berneri would have been successful, despite the greater military force of the fascist armies. The idea that men can overcome machines no longer seems as romantic or naive as it may have a few years ago.

Furthermore, the trust placed in the bourgeois government by the anarchist leaders was not honoured, as the history of the counterrevolution clearly shows. In retrospect, it seems that Berneri was correct in arguing that they should not have taken part in the bourgeois government, but should rather have sought to replace this government with the institutions created by the revolution.⁶⁶ The anarchist minister García Oliver stated that “we had confidence in the word and in the person of a Catalan democrat and retained and supported Companys as President of the Generalitat,”⁶⁷ at a time when in Catalonia, at least, the workers' organisations could easily have replaced the state apparatus and dispensed with the former political parties, as they had replaced the old economy with an entirely new structure. Companys recognised fully that there were limits beyond which he could not co-operate with the anarchists. In an interview with H.E. Kaminski, he refused to specify these limits, but merely expressed his hope that “the anarchist masses will not oppose the good sense of their

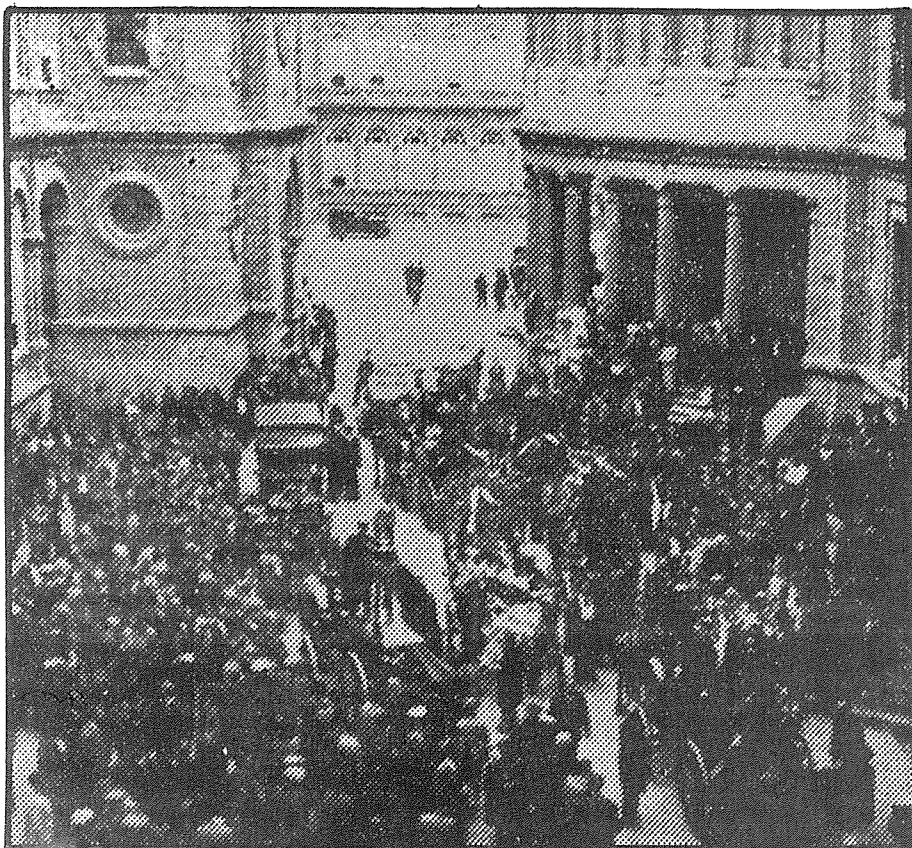
leaders,” who have “accepted the responsibilities incumbent upon them”; he saw his task as “directing these responsibilities in the proper path,” not further specified in the interview, but shown by the events leading up to the May Days.⁶⁸ Probably, Companys' attitude towards this willingness of the anarchist leaders to co-operate was expressed accurately in his reaction to the suggestion of a correspondent of the *New Statesman and Nation*, who predicted that the assassination of the anarchist mayor of Puigcerda would lead to a revolt: “[Companys] laughed scornfully and said the anarchists would capitulate as they always had before.”⁶⁹ As has already been pointed out in some detail, the liberal-Communist Party coalition had no intention of letting the war against Franco take precedence over the crushing of the revolution. A spokesman for Comorera put the matter clearly: “This slogan has been attributed to the PSUC: ‘Before taking Saragossa, it is necessary to take Barcelona.’ This reflects the situation exactly. . . .”⁷⁰ Comorera himself had, from the beginning, pressed Companys to resist the CNT.⁷¹ The first task of the antifascist coalition, he maintained, was to dissolve the revolutionary committees.⁷² I have already cited a good deal of evidence indicating that the repression conducted by the Popular Front seriously weakened popular commitment and involvement in the anti-fascist war. What was evident to George Orwell was also clear to the Barcelona workers and the peasants in the collectivised villages of Aragon: the liberal-Communist coalition would not tolerate a revolutionary transformation of Spanish society; it would commit itself fully to the anti-Franco struggle only after the old order was firmly re-established, by force, if necessary.⁷³

There is little doubt that farm workers in the collectives understood quite well the social content of the drive towards consolidation and central control. We learn this not only from anarchist sources but also from the socialist press in the Spring of 1937. On May 1, the Socialist party newspaper *Adelante* had the following to say:

“At the outbreak of the Fascist revolt the labour organisations and the democratic elements in the country were in agreement that the so-called National Revolution, which threatened to plunge our people into an abyss of deepest misery, could be halted only by a Social Revolution. The Communist Party, however, opposed this view with all its might. It had apparently completely forgotten its old theories of a ‘workers' and peasants' republic’ and a ‘dictatorship of the proletariat.’ From its constant repetition of its new slogan of the parliamentary democratic republic it is clear that it has lost all sense of reality. When the Catholic and conservative sections of the Spanish bourgeoisie saw their old system smashed and could find no way out, the Communist Party instilled new hope into them. It assured them that the democratic bourgeois republic for which it was pleading put no obstacles in the way of Catholic propaganda and, above all, that it stood ready to defend the class interests of the bourgeoisie.”⁷⁴

That this realisation was widespread in the rural areas was underscored dramatically by a questionnaire sent by *Adelante* to secretaries of the UGT Federation of Land Workers, published in June 1937.⁷⁵ The results are summarised as follows:

“The replies to these questions revealed an astounding unanimity. Everywhere the same story. The peasant collectives



May 1937, Barcelona: The funeral of Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri, murdered on the express orders of Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti.

are today most vigorously opposed by the Communist Party. The Communists organise the well-to-do farmers who are on the look-out for cheap labour and are, for this reason, outspokenly hostile to the co-operative undertakings of the poor peasants.

It is the element which before the revolution sympathised with the Fascists and Monarchists which, according to the testimony of the trade-union representatives, is now flocking to the ranks of the Communist Party. As to the general effect of Communist activity on the country, the secretaries of the UGT had only one opinion, which the representative of the Valencia organisation put in these words: 'It is a misfortune in the fullest sense of the word'.⁷⁶

It is not difficult to imagine how the recognition of this "misfortune" must have affected the willingness of the land workers to take part in the antifascist war, with all the sacrifices that this entailed.

The attitude of the central government to the revolution was brutally revealed by its acts and is attested as well in its propaganda. A former minister describes the situation as follows:

"The fact that it is concealed by the coalition of the Spanish Communist Party with the left Republicans and right wing Socialists is that there has been a successful social revolution in half of Spain. Successful, that is, in the collectivisation of factories and farms which are operated under trade union control, and operated quite efficiently. During the three months that I was director of propaganda for the United States and England under Alvarez del Vayo, then Foreign Minister for the Valencia Government, I was instructed not to send out one word about this revolution in the economic system of loyal-

ist Spain. Nor are any foreign correspondents in Valencia permitted to write freely of the revolution that has taken place."⁷⁷

In short, there is much reason to believe that the will to fight Franco was significantly diminished, perhaps destroyed, by the policy of authoritarian centralisation undertaken by the liberal-Communist coalition, carried through by force, and disguised in the propaganda that was disseminated among Western intellectuals⁷⁸ and that still dominates the writing of history. To the extent that this is a correct judgement, the alternative proposed by Berneri and the left "extremists" gains in plausibility.

As noted earlier, Caballero and the anarchist ministers accepted the policy of counterrevolution because of their trust in the Western democracies, which they felt sure would sooner or later come to their aid. This feeling was perhaps understandable in 1937. It is strange, however, that a historian writing in the 1960's should dismiss the proposal to strike at Franco's rear by extending the revolutionary war to Morocco, on grounds that this would have displeased Western capitalism (see earlier reference).

Berneri was quite right in his belief that the Western democracies would not take part in an antifascist struggle in Spain. In fact, their complicity in the fascist insurrection was not slight. French bankers, who were generally pro-Franco, blocked the release of Spanish gold to the loyalist government, thus hindering the purchase of arms and, incidentally, increasing the reliance of the Republic on the Soviet Union.⁷⁹ The policy of "nonintervention," which effectively blocked Western aid for the loyalist government while Hitler and Mussolini in effect won the war for Franco, was also technically initiated by the French government — though apparently under heavy British pressure.⁸⁰

As far as Great Britain is concerned, the hope that it would come to the aid of the Republic was always unrealistic. A few days after the

Franco coup, the foreign editor of *Paris-Soir* wrote: "At least four countries are already taking active interest in the battle — France, which is supporting the Madrid government, and Britain, Germany and Italy, each of which is giving discreet but nevertheless effective assistance to one group or another among the insurgents."⁸¹ In fact, British support for Franco took a fairly concrete form at the very earliest stages of the insurrection. The Spanish navy remained loyal to the Republic (to be more precise, pro-Franco officers were killed, and the seamen remained loyal to the Republic, in many instances), and made some attempt to prevent Franco from ferrying troops from Morocco to Spain. Italian and German involvement in overcoming these efforts is well documented;⁸² the British role has received less attention, but can be determined from contemporary reports. On August 11, 1936, the *New York Times* carried a front-page report on British naval actions in the Straits of Gibraltar, commenting that "this action helps the Rebels by preventing attacks on Algeciras, where troops from Morocco land." (A few days earlier, loyalist warships had bombarded Algeciras, damaging the British consulate.) An accompanying dispatch from Gibraltar describes the situation as it appeared from there:

"Angered by the Spanish factions' endangering of shipping and neutral Gibraltar territory in their fighting, Great Britain virtually blockaded Gibraltar Harbour last night with the huge battleship Queen Elizabeth in the centre of the entrance, constantly playing searchlights on near-by waters.

Many British warships patrolled the entire Strait today, determined to prevent interference with Britain's control over the entrance to the Mediterranean, a vital place in the British "lifeline to the East."

This action followed repeated warnings to the Spanish Government and yesterday's decree that no more fighting would be permitted in Gibraltar Harbour. The British at Gibraltar had become increasingly nervous after the shelling of Algeciras by the Loyalist battleship Jaime I.

Although British neutrality is still maintained, the patrol of the Strait and the closing of the harbour will aid the military Rebels because Loyalist warships cannot attempt to take Algeciras, now in Rebel hands, and completely isolate the Rebels from Morocco. The Rebels now can release some troops, who were rushed back to Algeciras, for duty further north in the drive for Madrid.

It was reported tonight in Gibraltar tonight that the Rebels had sent a transport across the Strait and had landed more troops from Morocco for use in the columns that are marching northward from headquarters at Seville.

This was the second time this year that Britain warned a power when she believed her measure of Mediterranean control was threatened, and it remains to be seen whether the Madrid Government will flout the British as the Italians did. If it attempts to do so, the British gunners of the Gibraltar fort have authority to fire warning shots. What will happen if such shots go unheeded is obvious.

All the British here refer to the Madrid Government as the "Communists" and there is no doubt where British sympathies now lie, encouraged by the statement of General Francisco Franco, leader of the

Rebels, that he is not especially cooperating with Italy.

The British Government has ordered Spaniards here to cease plotting or be expelled and has asked Britons "loyally to refrain from either acting or speaking publicly in such a manner as to display marked partiality or partisanship."

The warning, issued in the official Gibraltar Gazette, was signed by the British Colonial Secretary here.

The warning was issued after reports of possible Communist troubles here had reached official ears and after strong complaints that Spanish Rebels were in Gibraltar. It was said Rebels were making headquarters here and entering La Linea to fight." [Italics mine]

I have quoted this dispatch in full because it conveys rather accurately the character of British "neutrality" in the early stages of the war and thenceforth. In May 1938, the British ambassador to Spain, Sir Henry Chilton, "expressed the conviction that a Franco victory was necessary for peace in Spain; that there was not the

we have to count on complaints of all kinds being brought up in London regarding failure to observe the obligation not to intervene, but we cannot avoid such complaints in any case. It can, in fact, only be agreeable to us if the centre of gravity, which after all has thus far been in Paris because of the French initiative, is transferred to London."⁸⁶ They were not disappointed. In November, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden stated in the House of Commons: "So far as breaches [of the nonintervention agreement] are concerned, I wish to state categorically that I think there are other Governments more to blame than those of Germany and Italy."⁸⁷ There was no factual basis for this statement, but it did reflect British attitudes. It is interesting that according to German sources, England was at that time supplying Franco with munitions through Gibraltar and, at the same time, providing information to Germany about Russian arms deliveries to the Republic.⁸⁸

The British left was for the most part in support of the liberal-Communist coalition, regarding Caballero as an "infantile leftist" and the anarchists as generally unspeakable.

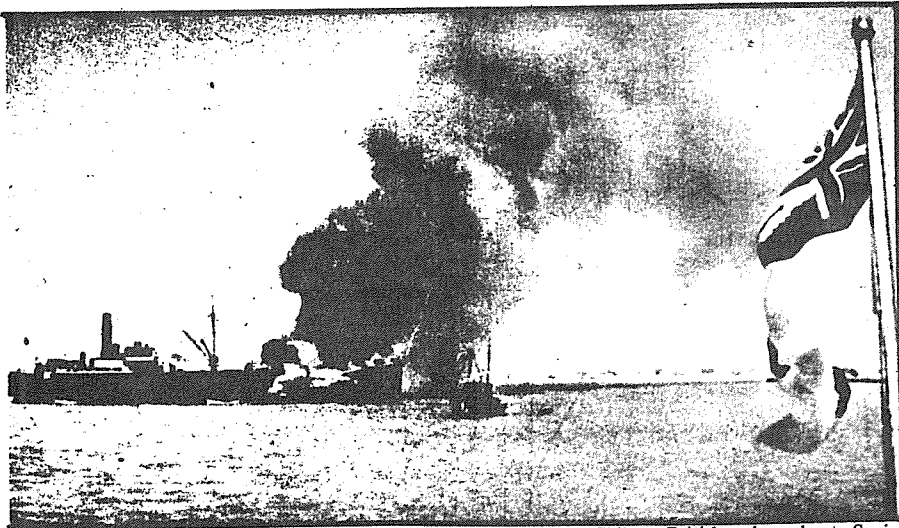
our friend."⁹⁰ In September 1938, the Munich agreement was concluded; shortly after, both France and Britain did welcome Germany as "our friend." As noted earlier (see note 53) even Churchill's role at this time is subject to some question. Of course, the Munich agreement was the death-knell for the Spanish Republic, exactly as the necessity to rely on the Soviet Union signalled the end of the Spanish revolution in 1937.

The United States, like France, exhibited less initiative in these events than Great Britain, which had far more substantial economic interests in Spain and was more of an independent force in European affairs. Nevertheless, the American record is hardly one to inspire pride. Technically, the United States adhered to a policy of strict neutrality. However, a careful look raises some doubts. According to information obtained by Jackson, "the American colonel who headed the Telephone Company had placed private lines at the disposal of the Madrid plotters for their conversations with Generals Mola and Franco,"⁹⁰ just prior to the insurrection on July 17. In August, the American government urged the Martin Aircraft Company not to honour an agreement made prior to the insurrection to supply aircraft to the Republic, and it also pressured the Mexican government not to reship to Spain war materials purchased in the United States.⁹¹ An American arms exporter, Robert Cuse, insisted on his legal right to ship airplanes and aircraft engines to the Republic in December 1936, and the State Department was forced to grant authorisation. Cuse was denounced by Roosevelt as unpatriotic, though Roosevelt was forced to admit that the request was quite legal. Roosevelt contrasted the attitude of other businessmen to Cuse as follows:

"Well, these companies went along with the request of the Government. There is the 90 per cent of business that is honest, I mean ethically honest. There is the 90 per cent we are always pointing at with pride. And then one man does what amounts to a perfectly legal but thoroughly unpatriotic act. He represents the 10 per cent of business that does not live up to the best standards. Excuse the homily, but I feel quite deeply about it."⁹²

Among the businesses that remained "ethically honest" and therefore did not incur Roosevelt's wrath was the Texaco Oil Company, which violated its contracts with the Spanish Republic and shipped oil instead to Franco. (Five tankers that were on the high seas in July 1936 were diverted to Franco, who received six million dollars worth of oil on credit during the Civil War) Apparently, neither the press nor the American government was able to discover this fact, though it was reported in left-wing journals at the time.⁹³ There is evidence that the American government shared the fears of Churchill and others about the dangerous forces on the Republican side. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, for example, informed Roosevelt on July 23, 1936, that "one of the most serious factors in this situation lies in the fact that the [Spanish] Government has distributed large quantities of arms and ammunition into the hands of irresponsible members of left-wing political organisations."⁹⁴

Like Churchill, many responsible Americans began to rethink their attitude towards the Republic after the social revolution had been crushed.⁹⁵ However, relations with Franco continued cordial. In 1957, President Eisenhower congratulated Franco on the "happy anniversary" of his rebellion,⁹⁶ and Secretary Rusk added his tribute in 1961. Upon criticism, Rusk was defended by the American ambassador to Mad-



"A Franco victory is necessary for peace in Spain." — Sir Henry Chilton, British ambassador to Spain.

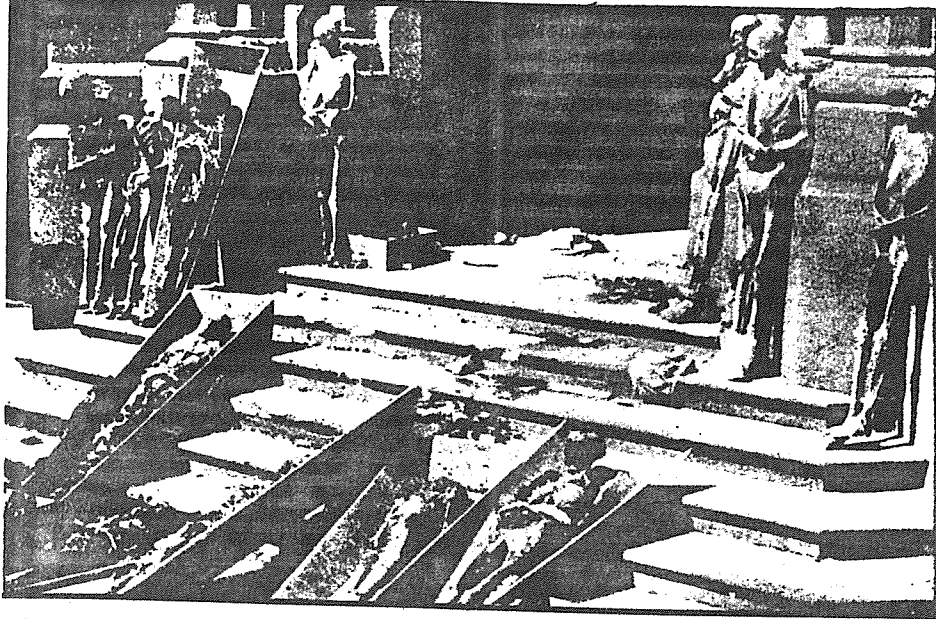
slightest chance that Italy and/or Germany would dominate Spain; and that even if it were possible for the Spanish Government to win (which he did not believe) he was convinced that a victory for Franco would be better for Great Britain."⁸³ Churchill, who was at first violently opposed to the Republic, modified his position somewhat after the crushing of the revolution in the summer of 1937. What particularly pleased him was the forceful repression of the anarchists and the militarisation of the Republic (necessary when "the entire structure of civilisation and social life is destroyed," as it had been by the revolution, now happily subdued).⁸⁴ However, his good feelings towards the Republic remained qualified. In an interview of August 14, 1938, he expressed himself as follows: "Franco has all the right on his side because he loves his country. Also, Franco is defending Europe against the Communist danger — if you wish to put it in those terms. But I, I am English, and I prefer the triumph of the wrong cause, I prefer that the other side wins, because Franco could be an upset or a threat to British interests, and the others no."⁸⁵

The Germans were quite aware of British sentiments, naturally, and therefore were much concerned that the supervisory committee for the nonintervention agreement be located in London rather than Paris. The German Foreign Ministry official responsible for this matter expressed his view on August 29, 1936, as follows: "Naturally,

The British policy of mild support for Franco was to be successful in preserving British interests in Spain, as the Germans soon discovered. A German Foreign Ministry note of October 1937 to the embassy in Nationalist Spain included the following observation: "That England cannot permanently be kept from the Spanish market as in the past is a fact with which we have to reckon. England's old relations with the Spanish mines and the Generalissimo's desire, based on political and economic considerations, to come to an understanding with England place certain limits on our chances of reserving Spanish raw materials to ourselves permanently."⁸⁹

One can only speculate as to what might have been the effect of British support for the Republic. A discussion of this matter would take us far afield, into a consideration of British diplomacy during the late 1930's. It is perhaps worth mention now that the "Munich analogy" is being bandied about in utter disregard for the historical facts by Secretary Rusk and a number of academic supporters, that "containment of Communism" was not a policy invented by George Kennan in 1947. Specifically, it was a dominant theme in the diplomacy of the 1930's. In 1934, Lloyd George stated that "in a very short time, perhaps in a year, perhaps two, the conservative elements in this country will be looking to Germany as the bulwark against Communism in Europe. . . Do not let us be in a hurry to condemn Germany. We shall be welcoming Germany as

"The oppressed people put to the torch whatever dens of obscurantism and deception they found in their path. Churches, convents, centres of reaction, whatever smacked of incense and darkness were fuel for the flames." *Ruta*, November 14, 1936.



rid, who observed that Spain is "a nation which understands the implacable nature of the communist threat,"⁹⁷ like Thailand, South Korea, Taiwan, and selected other countries of the Free World.⁹⁸

In the light of such facts as these, it seems to me that Jackson is not treating the historical record seriously when he dismisses the proposals of the Spanish left as absurd. Quite possibly Berneri's strategy would have failed, as did that of the liberal-Communist coalition that took over the Republic. It was far from senseless, however. I think that the failure of historians to consider it more seriously follows, once again, from the elitist bias that dominates the writing of history — and, in this case, from a certain sentimentality about the Western democracies.

The study of collectivisation published by the CNT in 1937⁹⁹ concludes with a description of the village of Membrilla. "In its miserable huts live the poor inhabitants of a poor province; eight thousand people, but the streets are not paved, the town has no newspaper, no cinema, neither a cafe nor a library. On the other hand, it has many churches that have been burned." Immediately after the Franco insurrection, the land was expropriated and village life collectivised. "Food clothing and tools were distributed equitably to the whole population. Money was abolished, work collectivised, all goods passed to the community, consumption was socialised. It was, however, not a socialisation of wealth but of poverty." Work continued as before. An elected council appointed committees to organise the life of the commune and its relations to the outside world. The necessities of life were distributed freely, insofar as they were available. A large number of refugees were accommodated. A small library was established, and a small school of design.

The document closes with these words:

"The whole population lived as a large family; functionaries, delegates, the secretary of the syndicates, the members of the municipal council, all elected, acted as heads of a family. But they were controlled, because special privilege or corruption would not be tolerated. Membrilla is perhaps the poorest village in Spain, but it is the most just."

An account such as this, with its concern for

human relations and the ideal of a just society, must appear very strange to the consciousness of the sophisticated intellectual, and it is therefore treated with scorn, or taken to be naive or primitive or otherwise irrational. Only when such prejudice is abandoned will it be possible for historians to undertake a serious study of the popular movement that transformed Republican Spain in one of the most remarkable social revolutions that history records.

Franz Borkenau, in commenting on the demoralisation caused by the authoritarian practices of the central government, observes (p. 295) that "newspapers are written by Europeanised editors, and the popular movement is inarticulate as to its deepest impulses . . . [which are shown only] . . . by acts." The objectivity of scholarship will remain a delusion as long as these inarticulate impulses remain beyond its grasp. As far as the Spanish revolution is concerned, its history is yet to be written.

I have concentrated on one theme — the interpretation of the social revolution in Spain — in one work of history, a work that is an excellent example of liberal scholarship. It seems to me that there is more than enough evidence to show that a deep bias against social revolution and a commitment to the values and social order of liberal bourgeois democracy has led the author to misrepresent crucial events and to overlook major historical currents. My intention has not been to bring into question the commitment to these values — that is another matter entirely. Rather, it has been to show how this commitment has led to a striking failure of objectivity, providing an example of "counterrevolutionary subordination" of a much more subtle and interesting sort — and ultimately, I believe, a far more important one — than those discussed in the first part of this essay [not published here].

* * * * *

In opening this discussion of the Spanish revolution I referred to the classical left-wing critique of the social role of the intellectuals, Marxist or otherwise, in modern society, and to Luxembourg's reservations regarding Bolshevism. Western sociologists have repeatedly emphasised the relevance of this analysis to developments in the Soviet Union,¹⁰⁰ with much justice. The same sociologists formulate "the world revolution of the epoch" in the following terms: "The

major transformation is the decline of business (and of earlier social formations) and the rise of intellectuals and semi-intellectuals to effective power."¹⁰¹ The "ultra left" critic foresaw in these developments a new attack on human freedom and a more efficient system of exploitation. The Western sociologist sees in the rise of intellectuals to effective power the hope for a more humane and smoothly functioning society, in which problems can be solved by "piecemeal technology." Who has the sharper eye? At least this much is plain: there are dangerous tendencies in the ideology of the welfare state intelligentsia who claim to possess the technique and understanding required to manage our "post-industrial society" and to organise an international society dominated by American superpower. Many of these dangers are revealed, at a purely ideological level, in the study of counterrevolutionary subordination of scholarship. The dangers exist both insofar as the claim to knowledge is real and insofar as it is fraudulent. Insofar as the technique of management and control exists, it can be used to consolidate the authority of those who exercise it and to diminish spontaneous and free experimentation with new social forms, as it can limit the possibilities for reconstruction of society in the interests of those who are now, to a greater or lesser extent, dispossessed. Where the techniques fail; they will be supplemented by all of the methods of coercion that modern technology provides, to preserve order and stability.

For a glimpse of what may lie ahead, consider the Godkin lectures of McGeorge Bundy, recently delivered at Harvard.¹⁰² Bundy urges that more power be concentrated in the executive branch of the government, now "dangerously weak in relation to its present tasks." That the powerful executive will act with justice and wisdom — this presumably needs no argument. As an example of the superior executive who should be attracted to government and given still greater power, Bundy cites Robert McNamara. Nothing could reveal more clearly the dangers inherent in the "new society" than the role that McNamara's Pentagon has played for the past half-dozen years. No doubt McNamara succeeded in doing with utmost efficiency that which should not be done at all. No doubt he has shown an unparalleled mastery of the logistics of coercion and repression, combined with the most astonishing inability to comprehend political and human factors. The efficiency of the Pentagon is no less remarkable than its pratfalls.¹⁰³ When understanding fails, there is always more force in reserve. As the "experiments in material and human resources control" collapse and "revolutionary development" grinds to a halt, we simply resort more openly to the Gestapo tactics that are barely concealed behind the facade of "pacification."¹⁰⁴ When American cities explode, we can expect the same. The technique of "limited warfare" translates neatly into a system of domestic repression — far more humane, as will quickly be explained, than massacring those who are unwilling to wait for the inevitable victory of the war on poverty.

Why should a liberal intellectual be so persuaded of the virtues of a political system of four-year dictatorship? The answer seems all too plain. (Copyright) Noam Chomsky

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Notes to 'Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship'

1. Cited in Paul Avrich, "The Russian Anarchists" (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 93-94. A recent reformulation of this view is given by Anton Pannekoek, the Dutch scientist and spokesman for libertarian communism, in his "Workers Councils" (Melbourne, 1950), pp. 36-37:

"It is not for the first time that a ruling class tries to explain, and so to perpetuate, its rule as the consequences of an inborn difference between two kinds of people, one destined by nature to ride, the other to be ridden. The landowning aristocracy of former centuries defended their privileged position by boasting their extraction from a nobler race of conquerors that had subdued the lower race of common people. Big capitalists explain their dominating place by the assertion that they have brains and other people have none. In the same way now especially the intellectuals, considering themselves the rightful rulers of tomorrow, claim their spiritual superiority. They form the rapidly increasing class of university trained officials and free professions, specialised in mental work, in study of books and of science, and they consider themselves as the people most gifted with intellect. Hence they are destined to be leaders of the production, whereas the ungifted mass shall execute the manual work, for which no brains are needed. They are no defenders of capitalism; not capital, but intellect should direct labour. The more so, since now society is such a complicated structure, based on abstract and difficult science, that only the highest intellectual acumen is capable of embracing, grasping and handling it. Should the working masses, from lack of insight, fail to acknowledge this need of superior intellectual lead, should they stupidly try to take the direction into their own hands, chaos and ruin will be the inevitable consequence."

2. Daniel Bell, "Notes on the Post-Industrial Society: Part I," "The Public Interest," No. 6, 1967, pp. 24-35. Albert Parry has suggested that there are important similarities between the emergence of a scientific elite in the Soviet Union and the United States, in their growing role in decision making, citing Bell's thesis in support. See "The New York Times," March 27, 1966, reporting on the Midwest Slavic Conference.

3. Letter to Herzen and Ogareff, 1866, cited in Daniel Guérin, "Jeunesse du socialisme libertaire" (Paris, Librairie Marcel Riviere, 1959, p. 119.

4. Rosa Luxemburg, "The Russian Revolution" translated by Bertram D. Wolfe (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1961), p. 71.

5. Luxemburg, cited by Guérin, "Jeunesse du socialisme libertaire," pp. 106-7.

6. "Leninism or Marxism", in Luxemburg, op. cit., p. 102.

7. For a very enlightening study of this matter, emphasising domestic issues, see Michael Paul Rogin, "The Intellectuals and McCarthy": "The Radical Specter" (Cambridge, Mass., the M.I.T. Press, 1967).

8. "The Spanish Republic and the Civil War: 1931-1939" (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1965).

9. Respectively, President of the Republic, Prime Minister from May until the Franco insurrection, and member of the conservative wing of the Popular Front selected by Azana to try to set up a compromise government after the insurrection.

10. It is interesting that Douglas Pike's very hostile account of the National Liberation Front emphasises the popular and voluntary element in its striking organisational successes. What he describes, whether accurately or not one cannot tell, is a structure of interlocking self-help organisations, loosely co-ordinated and developed through persuasion rather than force - in certain respects, of a character that would have appealed to anarchist thinkers. Those who speak so freely of the "authoritarian Vietcong" may be correct, but they have presented little evidence to support their judgement. Of course, it must be understood that Pike regards the element of voluntary mass participation in self-help organisations as the most dangerous and insidious feature of the NLF organisational structure.

Also relevant is the history of collectivisation in China, which, as compared with the Soviet Union, shows a much higher reliance on persuasion and mutual aid than on force and terror, and appears to have been more successful. See Thomas P. Bernstein, "Leadership and Mass Mobilisation in the Soviet and Chinese Collectivisation Campaigns of 1929-30 and 1955-56: A Comparison," "China Quarterly," No. 31 (July-September 1967), pp. 1-47, for some interesting and suggestive comments and analysis.

The scale of the Chinese Revolution is so great and reports in depth are so fragmentary that it would no doubt be foolhardy to attempt a general evaluation. Still, all the reports I have been able to study suggest that insofar as real successes were achieved in the several stages of land reform, mutual aid, collectivisation, and formation of communes, they were traceable in large part to the complex interaction of the Communist party cadres and the gradually evolving peasant associations, a relation which seems to stray far from the Leninist model of organisation. This is particularly evident in William Hinton's magnificent study "Fanshen" (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1966), which is unparalleled, to my knowledge, as an analysis of a moment of profound revolutionary change. What seems to me particularly striking in his account of the early stages of revolution in one Chinese village is not only the extent to which party cadres submitted themselves to popular control, but also, and more significant, the ways in which exercise of control over steps of the revolutionary process was a factor in developing the consciousness and insight of those who took

part in the revolution, not only from a political and social point of view, but also with respect to the human relationships that were created. It is interesting, in this connection, to note the strong populist connection in early Chinese Marxism. For some illuminating observations about this general matter, see Maurice Meisner, "Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism" (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1967).

I am not suggesting that the anarchist revolution in Spain - with its background of more than thirty years of education and struggle - is being relived in Asia, but rather that the spontaneous and voluntary elements in popular mass movements have probably been seriously misunderstood because of the instinctive antipathy towards such phenomena among intellectuals, and more recently, because of the insistence on interpreting them in terms of Cold War mythology.

11. "The Spanish Background," "The New Left Review," No. 40 (November-December 1966), pp. 85-90.

12. Jose Peirats, "La CNT en la revolucion espanola," (Paris, Ruedo Iberico, 1971), 3 vols. Jackson makes one passing reference to it. Peirats has since published a general history of the period, "Los anarquistas en la crisis politica espanola," (Buenos Aires, Editorial Alfa-Argentina, 1964). An English language edition of this work has just been published by Solidarity books of Toronto and is available from C.P. Bookservice.

13. An exception to the rather general failure to deal with the anarchist revolution is Hugh Thomas's "Anarchist Agrarian Collectives in the Spanish Civil War," in Martin Gilbert, ed., "A Century of Conflict, 1850-1950: Essays for A.J.P. Taylor," (New York, Atheneum Publishers, 1967), pp. 245-63. There is also much useful information in what to my mind is the best general history of the Civil War, "La Revolution et la guerre de l'Espagne," by Pierre Broue and Emile Temime (Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, 1961). A concise and informative recent account is contained in Daniel Guérin, "L'Anarchisme," (Paris, Gallimard, 1965). In his extensive study, "The Spanish Civil War" (New York, Harper & Row, 1961) Hugh Thomas barely refers to the popular revolution, and some of the major events are not mentioned at all (for review of updated edition of Thomas book see elsewhere in this issue).

14. "Collectivisation: l'oeuvre constructive de la Revolution espagnole," 2nd ed. (Toulouse, Editions CNT, 1965). The first edition was published in Barcelona (Editions CNT-FAI, 1937). There is an excellent and sympathetic summary by the Marxist scholar Karl Korsch, "Collectivisation in Spain," in "Living Marxism," Vol. 4 (April 1939), pp. 179-82. In the same issue (pp. 170-71), the liberal-Communist reaction to the Spanish Civil War, is summarised succinctly, and I believe accurately, as follows: "With their empty chatter as to the wonders of Bolshevik

discipline, the geniality of Caballero, and the passions of the Passionaria, the 'modern liberals' merely covered up their real desire for the destruction of all revolutionary possibilities in the Civil War, and their preparation for the possible war over the Spanish issue in the interest of their diverse fatherlands. . . what was truly revolutionary in the Spanish Civil War resulted from the direct actions of the workers and pauperised peasants, and not because of a specific form of labour organisation nor an especially gifted leadership." I think the record bears out this analysis, and I also think that it is this fact that accounts for the distaste for the revolutionary phase of the Civil War and its neglect in historical scholarship.

15. An illuminating eyewitness account of this period is that of Franz Borkenau, "The Spanish Cockpit," (1938; reprinted Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1963).

16. Figures from Guerin, "L'Anarchisme," p.154.

17. A useful account of this period is given by Felix Morrow, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain," (1938; reprinted London, New Park Publications, 1963).

18. Cited by Camillo Berneri in his "Lettre ouverte a la camarade Frederica [sic] Montseny," "Guerre de classes en Espagne," (Paris, 1946), a collection of items translated from his journal "Guerra di Classe." Berneri was the outstanding anarchist intellectual in Spain. He opposed the policy of joining the government and argued for an alternative, more typically anarchist strategy to which I will return below. His own view towards joining the government was stated succinctly by a Catalan worker whom he quotes, with reference to the Republic of 1931: "It is always the old dog with a new collar." Events were to prove the accuracy of this analysis.

Berneri had been a leading spokesman of Italian anarchism. He left Italy after Mussolini's rise to power, and came to Barcelona on July 19, 1936. He formed the first Italian units for the anti-fascist war, according to anarchist historian Rudolf Rocker ("The Tragedy of Spain," New York, "Freie Arbeiter Stimme," 1937, p. 44). He was murdered, along with his older comrade Barbieri, during the May Days of 1937. (Arrested on May 5 by the Communist-controlled police, he was shot during the following night.) Hugh Thomas, in "The Spanish Civil War," p.428 suggests that "the assassins may have been Italian Communists" rather than the police. Thomas' book, which is largely devoted to military history, mentions Berneri's murder but makes no other reference to his ideas or role.

Berneri's name does not appear in Jackson's history. (Frank Mintz believes the murders were carried out on the order of Togliatti. We shall be exploring this subject further - together with an examination of Berneri's work - in the forthcoming issue of the C.P. Review - eds.)

19. Burnett Bolloten, "The Grand Camouflage: The Communist Conspiracy in the Spanish Civil War," (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1961), p. 86. This book, by a UP correspondent in Spain during the Civil War, contains a great deal of important documentary evidence bearing on the questions considered here. The attitude of the wealthy farmers of this area, most of them former supporters of the right-wing organisations that had now disappeared, is well described by the general secretary of the Peasant Federation, Julio Mateu: "Such is the sympathy for us [that is, the Communist Party] in the Valencia countryside that hundreds and thousands of farmers would join our party if we were to let them. These farmers . . . love our party like a sacred thing. . . they [say] 'The Commun-

ist Party is our party.' Comrades, what emotion the peasants display when they utter these words" (cited in Bolloten, p. 86). There is some interesting speculation about the backgrounds for the writing of this very important book in H.R. Southworth, "Le mythe de la croisade de Franco," (Ruedo Iberico, Paris, 1964; Spanish edition, same publisher, 1963).

The Communist headquarters in Valencia had on the wall two posters: "Respect the property of the small peasant" and "Respect the property of the small industrialist," (Borkenau, "The Spanish Cockpit" p. 117). Actually, it was the rich farmer as well who sought protection from the Communists, whom Borkenau describes as constituting the extreme right wing of the Republican forces. By early 1937, according to Borkenau, the Communist party was "to a large extent, . . . the party of the military and administrative personnel, in the second place the party of the petty bourgeoisie and certain well-to-do peasant groups, in the third place the party of the employees, and only in the fourth place the party of the industrial workers," (p. 192). The party also attracted many police and army officers. The police chief in Madrid and the chief of intelligence, for example, were party members. In general, the party, which had been insignificant before the revolution, "gave the urban and rural middle classes a powerful access of life and vigour" as it defended them from the revolutionary forces (Bolloten, op. cit., p. 86). Gerald Brenan describes the situation as follows, in "The Spanish Labyrinth" (1943; reprinted Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 325:

"Unable to draw to themselves the manual workers, who remained firmly fixed in their unions, the Communists found themselves the refuge for all those who had suffered from the excesses of the Revolution or who feared where it might lead them. Well-to-do Catholic orange-growers in Valencia, peasants in Catalonia, small shopkeepers and business men, Army officers and Government officials enrolled in their ranks. . . Thus [in Catalonia] one had a strange and novel situation: on the one side stood the huge and compact proletariat of Barcelona with its long revolutionary tradition, and on the other the white-collar workers and 'petite bourgeoisie' of the city, organised and armed by the Communist party against it."

Actually, the situation that Brenan describes is not as strange a one as he suggests. It is, rather, a natural consequence of Bolshevik elitism that the "Red Bureaucracy" should act as a counter-revolutionary force except under the conditions where its present or future representatives are attempting to seize power for themselves, in the name of the masses whom they pretend to represent.

20. Bolloten, op. cit., p. 189. The legalisation of revolutionary actions, already undertaken and completed recalls the behaviour of the "revolutionary vanguard" in the Soviet Union in 1918. Cf. Arthur Rosenberg, "A History of Bolshevism," (1932; republished in translation from the original German, New York, Russell and Russell, Publishers, 1965), Ch. 6. He describes how the expropriations, "accomplished as the result of spontaneous action on the part of the workers and against the will of the Bolsheviks," were reluctantly legalised by Lenin months later and then placed under central party control. On the relation of the Bolsheviks to the anarchists in postrevolutionary Russia, interpreted from a pre-anarchist point of view, see Guer-

in, "L'Anarchisme," pp. 96-125. See also Avrich, op. cit., Part II, pp. 123-254.

21. Bolloten, op. cit., p. 191.

22. Ibid., p. 194.

23. For some details, see Vernon Richards, "Lessons of the Spanish Revolution" (London, Freedom Press, 1953), pp. 83-88.

24. For a moving eyewitness account, see George Orwell, "Homage to Catalonia" (1938; reprinted Penguin, 1977; quotations in this article from U.S. Beacon Press edition, 1955). This brilliant book received little notice at the time of its first publication, no doubt because the picture Orwell drew was in sharp conflict with established liberal dogma. The attention that it has received as a cold-war document since its republication in 1952 would, I suspect, have been of little comfort to the author.

25. Cited by Rocker, "The Tragedy of Spain," p. 28.

26. See Ibid. for a brief review. It was a great annoyance to Hitler that these interests were, to a large extent, protected by Franco.

27. Ibid., p.3.

28. Op. cit., pp. 324f.

29. Borkenau, "The Spanish Cockpit," pp. 289-292. It is because of the essential accuracy of Borkenau's account that I think Hobsbawm (op. cit.) is mistaken in believing that the Communist policy "was undoubtedly the only one which could have won the Civil War." In fact, the Communist policy was bound to fail, because it was predicated on the assumption that the Western democracies would join the antifascist effort if only Spain could be preserved as, in effect, a Western colony. Once the Communist leaders saw the futility of this hope, they abandoned the struggle, which was not in their eyes an effort to win the Civil War, but only to serve the interests of Russian foreign policy. I also disagree with Hobsbawm's analysis of the anarchist revolution, cited earlier, for reasons that are implicit in this entire discussion.

30. Op. cit., pp. 143-44.

31. Cited by Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 168-69.

32. Bolloten, op. cit., p. 84.

33. Ibid., p. 85. As noted earlier, the "small farmer" included the prosperous orange growers, etc. (see note 19).

34. Brenan, op. cit., p. 321.

35. Correspondence from Companys to Prieto, 1939. While Companys, as a Catalan with separatist impulses, would naturally be inclined to defend Catalan achievements, he was surely not sympathetic to collectivisation, despite his cooperative attitude during the period when the anarchists, with real power in their hands, permitted him to retain nominal authority. I know of no attempt to challenge the accuracy of his assessment. Morrow (op. cit., p. 77) quotes the Catalan Premier, the entrepreneur Juan Tarradellas, as defending the administration of the collectivised war industries against a Communist (PSUC) attack, which he termed the "most arbitrary falsehoods." There are many other reports commenting on the functioning of the collectivised industries by nonanarchist firsthand observers, that tend to support Companys. For example, the Swiss socialist Andres Oltmares is quoted by Rocker ("The Tragedy of Spain," p. 24) as saying that after the revolution the Catalan workers' syndicates "in seven weeks accomplished fully as much as France did in fourteen months after the outbreak of the World War." Continuing, he says:

"In the midst of the civil war the Anarchists have proved themselves to be political organisers of the first rank. They kindled in everyone the required sense of responsibility, and knew how by eloquent appeals to keep alive the spirit of sacrifice for the general welfare of the people.

As a Social Democrat I speak here with inner joy and sincere admiration of my experience in Catalonia. The anti-capitalist transformation took place here without their having to resort to a dictatorship. The members of the syndicates are their own masters, and carry on production and the distribution of the products of labour under their own management with the advice of technical experts in whom they have confidence. The enthusiasm of the workers is so great that they scorn any personal advantage and are concerned only for the welfare of all."

Even Borkenau concludes, rather grudgingly, that industry was functioning fairly well, as far as he could see. The matter deserves a serious study.

36. Quoted in Richards, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

37. Ibid. Richards suggests that the refusal of the central government to support the Aragon front may have been motivated in part by the general policy of counterrevolution. "This front, largely manned by members of the CNT-FAI, was considered as of great strategic importance by the anarchists, having as its ultimate objective the linking of Catalonia with the Basque country and Asturias, i.e., a linking of the industrial region [of Catalonia] with an important source of raw materials." Again, it would be interesting to undertake a detailed investigation of this topic.

That the Communists withheld arms from the Aragon front seems established beyond question, and it can hardly be doubted that the motivation was political. See, for example, D.T. Cattell, "Communism and the Spanish Civil War" (1955; reprinted New York, Russell and Russell, Publishers, 1965), p. 110. Cattell, who in general bends over backwards to try to justify the behaviour of the central government, concludes that in this case there is little doubt that the refusal of aid was politically motivated. Brenan takes the same view, claiming that the Communists "kept the Aragon front without arms to spite the Anarchists." The Communists resorted to some of the most grotesque slanders to explain the lack of arms on the Aragon front; for example, the "Daily Worker" attributed the arms shortage to the fact that the "Trotskyist General Kopp had been carting enormous supplies of arms and ammunition across no-man's land to the fascists" (cited by Morrow, op. cit., p. 145). As Morrow points out, George Kopp is a particularly bad choice as a target for such accusations. His record is well known, for example, from the account given by Orwell, who served under his command (see Orwell, op. cit., pp. 209f.). Orwell was also able to refute, from firsthand observation; many of the absurdities that were appearing in the liberal press about the Aragon front, for example, the statement by Ralph Bates in the "New Republic" that the POUM troops were playing football with the Fascists in no man's land. At that moment, as Orwell observes, "the POUM troops were suffering heavy casualties and a number of my personal friends were killed and wounded."

38. Cited in "Living Marxism," p. 172.

39. Bolloten, op. cit., p. 49, comments on the collectivisation of the dairy trade in Barcelona, as follows: "The Anarcho-syndicalists eliminated

as unhygienic over forty pasteurising plants, pasteurised all the milk in the remaining nine, and proceeded to displace all dealers by establishing their own dairies. Many of the retailers entered the collective, but some refused to do so: "They asked for a much higher wage than that paid to the workers... claiming that they could not manage on the one allotted to them" [Tiera y Libertad, August 21, 1937 - the newspaper of the FAI, the anarchist activists]. His information is primarily from anarchist sources, which he uses much more extensively than any historian other than Peirats. He does not present any evaluation of these sources, which - like all others - must be used critically.

40. Morrow, op. cit., p. 136.

41. Borkenau, "The Spanish Cockpit," p. 182.

42. Ibid., p. 183.

43. Ibid., p. 184. According to Borkenau, "it is doubtful whether Comorera is personally responsible for this scarcity; it might have arisen anyway, in pace with the consumption of the harvest." This speculation may or may not be correct. Like Borkenau, we can only speculate as to whether the village and workers' committees would have been able to continue to provision Barcelona, with or without central administration, had it not been for the policy of "abstract liberalism," which was of a piece with the general Communist-directed attempts to destroy the Revolutionary organisations and the structures developed in the Revolutionary period.

44. Orwell, op. cit., pp. 109-11. Orwell's description of Barcelona in December (pp. 4-5), when he arrived for the first time, deserves more extensive quotation:

It was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle. Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with red and black flags of the Anarchists; every wall was scrawled with the hammer and sickle and with the initials of the revolutionary parties; almost every church had been gutted and its images burnt. Churches here and there were being systematically demolished by gangs of workmen. Every shop and cafe had an inscription saying that it had been collectivised; even the bootblacks had been collectivised and their boxes painted red and black. Waiters and shop-walkers looked you in the face and treated you as an equal. Servile and even ceremonial forms of speech had temporarily disappeared. Nobody said "Senor" or "Don" or even "Usted"; everyone called everyone else "Comrade" and "Thou", and said "Salud!" instead of "Buenos Dias." Tipping had been forbidden by law since the time of Primo de Rivera; almost my first experience was receiving a lecture from an hotel manager for trying to tip a lift-boy. There were no private motor cars, they had all been commandeered, and all the trams and taxis and much of the other transport were painted red and black. The revolutionary posters were everywhere, flaming from the walls in clean reds and blues that made the few remaining advertisements look like daubs of mud. Down the Ramblas, the wide central artery of the town where crowds of people streamed constantly to and fro, the loud-speakers were bellowing revolutionary songs all day and far into the night. And it was the aspect of the crowds that was the queerest thing of all. In outward appear-

ance it was a town in which the wealthy classes had practically ceased to exist. Except for a small number of women and foreigners there were no "well-dressed" people at all. Practically everyone wore rough working class clothes, or blue overalls or some variant of the militia uniform. All this was queer and moving. There was much in it I did not understand, in some ways I did not even like it, but I recognised it immediately as a state of affairs worth fighting for. Also I believed things were as they appeared, that this was really a workers' State and that the entire bourgeoisie had either fled, been killed, or voluntarily come over to the workers' side; I did not realise that great numbers of well-to-do bourgeois were simply lying low and disguising themselves as proletarians for the time being. . . .

. . . waiting for that happy day when Communist power would reintroduce the old state of society and destroy popular involvement in the war.

In December 1936, however, the situation was still as described in the following remarks (p. 6):

Yet so far as one can judge the people were contented and hopeful. There was no unemployment, and the price of living was still exceptionally low; you saw very few conspicuously destitute people, and no beggars except the gypsies. Above all, there was a belief in the revolution and the future, a feeling of having suddenly emerged into an era of equality and freedom. Human beings were trying to behave as human beings and not as cogs in the capitalist machine. In the barbers' shops were Anarchist notices (the barbers were mostly Anarchists) solemnly explaining that barbers were no longer slaves. In the streets were coloured posters appealing to prostitutes to stop being prostitutes. To anyone from the hard-boiled, sneering civilisation of the English-speaking races there was something rather pathetic in the literalness with which these idealistic Spaniards took the hackneyed phrases of revolution. At that time revolutionary ballads of the naivest kind, all about proletarian brotherhood and the wickedness of Mussolini, were being sold on the streets for a few centimes each. I have often seen an illiterate militiaman buy one of these ballads, laboriously spell out the words, and then, when he had got the hang of it, begin singing it to an appropriate tune.

Recall the dates. Orwell arrived in Barcelona in late December 1936. Comorera's decree abolishing the workers' supply committees and the bread committees was on January 7. Borkenau returned to Barcelona in mid-January; Orwell in April.

45. See Bolloten, op. cit., p. 74, citing the anarchist spokesman Juan Peiro, in September 1936. Like other anarchists and left-wing socialists, Peiro sharply condemns the use of force to introduce collectivisation, taking the position that was expressed by most anarchists, as well as by left-wing socialists such as Ricardo Zabalza, general secretary of the Federation of Land Workers, who stated, on January 8, 1937: "I prefer a small, enthusiastic collective, formed by a group of active and honest workers, to a large collective set up by force and composed of peasants without enthusiasm, who would sabotage it until it failed. Voluntary collectivisation may seem the longer course, but the example of the small, well managed collective will attract the entire peasantry, who are profoundly realistic and practical, whereas forced collectivisation

would end by discrediting socialised agriculture" (cited by Bolloten op cit., p. 59). However, there seems no doubt that the precepts of the anarchist and left-wing spokesmen were often violated in practice.

46. Borkenau, "The Spanish Cockpit", pp. 219-20. Of this officer, Jackson says only that he was "a dependable professional officer." After the fall of Malaga, Lieutenant Colonel Villalba was tried for treason, for having deserted the headquarters and abandoned his troops. Broue and Temime remark that it is difficult to determine what justice there was in the charge.

47. Jesus Hernandez and Juan Comorera, "Spain Organises for Victory: The Policy of the Communist Party of Spain Explained" (London, Communist Party of Great Britain, n.d.), cited by Richards, op cit., pp. 99-100. There was no accusation that the phone service was restricted, but only that the revolutionary workers could maintain a close "check on the conversations that took place between the politicians." As Richards further observes, "It is, of course, a quite different matter when the 'indiscreet ear' is that of the O.G.P.U."

48. Broue and Temime, op cit., p. 226.

49. Jackson, op cit., p. 370. Thomas suggests that Sese was probably killed accidentally ("The Spanish Civil War, p. 428).

50. The anarchist mayor of the border town of Puigcerda had been assassinated in April, after Negrin's carabineros had taken over the border posts. That same day a prominent U.G.T. member, Roldan Cortada, was murdered in Barcelona, it is presumed by CNT militants. This presumption is disputed by Peirats ("Los Anarquistas: see note 12), who argues, with some evidence, that the murder may have been a Stalinist provocation. In reprisal, a CNT man was killed. Orwell, whose eyewitness account of the May Days is unforgettable, points out that "One can gauge the attitude of the foreign capitalist Press towards the Communist-Anarchist Feud by the fact that Roldan's murder was given wide publicity, while the answering murder was carefully unmentioned" (op. cit., p. 119). Similarly, one can gauge Jackson's attitude towards this struggle by his citation of Sese's murder as a critical event, while the murder of Berneri goes unmentioned (cf. notes 18 & 49). Orwell remarks elsewhere that "In the English press, in particular, you would have to search for a long time before finding any favourable reference, at any period of the war, to the Spanish Anarchists. They have been systematically denigrated, and, as I know by my own experience, it is almost impossible to get anyone to print anything in their defence" (p. 159). Little has changed since.

51. According to Orwell (op. cit., 153-54), "A British cruiser and two British destroyers had closed in upon the harbour, and no doubt there were other warships not far away. The English newspapers gave it out that these ships were proceeding to Barcelona 'to protect British interests,' but in fact they made no move to do so; that is, they did not land any men or take off any refugees. There can be no certainty about this, but it was at least inherently likely that the British Government, which had not raised a finger to save the Spanish Government from Franco, would intervene quickly enough to save it from its own working class." This assumption may well have influenced the left wing leadership to restrain the Barcelona workers from simply taking control of the whole city, as apparently they could easily have done in the initial stages of the May Days.

Hugh Thomas comments ("The Spanish Civil War," p. 428) that there was "no reason" for Orwell's "apprehension" on this matter. In the

light of the British record with regard to Spain, it seems to me that Thomas is simply unrealistic, as compared with Orwell, in this respect.

52. Orwell, op. cit., pp. 143-44.

53. "Controversy," August 1937, cited by Morrow, p. 173. The prediction was incorrect, though not unreasonable. Had the Western powers and the Soviet Union wished, compromise would have been possible, it appears, and Spain might have been saved the terrible consequences of a Franco victory. See Brennan, op. cit., p. 331. He attributes the British failure to support an armistice and possible reconciliation to the fact that Chamberlain "saw nothing disturbing in the prospect of an Italian and German victory." It would be interesting to explore more fully the attitude of Winston Churchill. In April 1937 he stated that a Franco victory would not harm British interests. Rather, the danger was a "success of the trotskists and anarchists" (cited by Broue and Temime, op. cit., p. 172). Of some interest, in this connection, is the recent discovery of an unpublished Churchill essay written in March 1939 - six months after Munich - in which he said that England "would welcome and aid a genuine Hitler of peace and toleration" (see "New York Times," December 12, 1965).

54. I find no mention at all in Hugh Thomas, "The Spanish Civil War." The account here is largely taken from Broue and Temime, pp. 279-80.

55. Op cit., p. 405. A footnote comments on the "leniency" of the government to those arrested. Jackson has nothing to say about the charges against Ascaso and others, or the manner in which the old order was restored in Aragon.

To appreciate these events more fully, one should consider, by comparison, the concern for civil liberties shown by Negrin on the second, antifascist front. In an interview after the war he explained to John Whitaker ("We Cannot Escape History", New York, The Macmillan Company Ltd., 1943, pp. 116-18) why his government had been so ineffective in coping with the fifth column, even in the case of known fascist agents. Negrin explained "we couldn't arrest a man on suspicion; we couldn't break with the rules of evidence. You can't risk arresting an innocent man because you are positive in your own mind that he is guilty. You prosecute a war, yes; but you also live with your conscience." Evidently these scruples did not pertain when it was the rights of anarchist and socialist workers, rather than fascist agents, that were at stake.

56. Cf. Broue and Temime, p. 262. Ironically, the government forces included some anarchist troops, the only ones to enter Barcelona.

57. See Bolloten, op. cit., p. 55, n.1, for an extensive list of sources.

58. Broue and Temime cite the socialists Alardo Prats, Fenner Brockway, and Carlo Rosselli. Borkenau, on the other hand, suspected that the role of terror was great in collectivisation. He cites very little to substantiate his feeling, though some evidence is available from anarchist sources. See note 45 above.

Some general remarks on collectivisation by Rosselli and Brockway are cited by Rudolf Rocker in his essay "Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism," n.1, in Paul Eltzbacher, ed., "Anarchism" (London, Freedom Press, 1960), p. 266:

Rosselli: In three months Catalonia has been able to set up a new social order on the ruins of an ancient system. This is chiefly due to the Anarchists, who have revealed a quite remarkable sense of

proportion, realistic understanding, and organising ability. . . All the revolutionary forces of Catalonia have united in a program of Syndicalist-Socialist character. . . Anarcho-Syndicalism, hitherto so despised, has revealed itself as a great constructive force. I am no Anarchist, but I regard it as my duty to express here my opinion of the Anarchists of Catalonia, who have all too often been represented as a destructive if not a criminal element.

Brockway: I was impressed by the strength of the C.N.T. It was unnecessary to tell me that it is the largest and most vital of the working class organisations in Spain. That was evident on all sides. The large industries were clearly in the main in the hands of the C.N.T. - railways, road transport, shipping, engineering, textiles, electricity, building, agriculture. . . I was immensely impressed by the constructive revolutionary work which is being done by the C.N.T. Their achievements of workers' control in industry is an inspiration. . . There are still some British and Americans who regard the Anarchists of Spain as impossible, undisciplined uncontrollables. This is poles away from the truth. The Anarchists of Spain, through the C.N.T., are doing one of the biggest constructive jobs ever done by the working class. At the front they are fighting Fascism. Behind the front they are actually constructing the new workers' society. They see that the war against Fascism and the carrying through of the social revolution are inseparable. Those who have seen them and understood what they are doing must honour them and be grateful to them. . . That is surely the biggest thing which has hitherto been done by the workers in any part of the world.

59. Cited by Richards, op. cit., pp. 76-81, where long descriptive quotations are given.

60. See Hugh Thomas, "Anarchist Agrarian Collectives in the Spanish Civil War" (note 13). He cites figures showing that agricultural production went up in Aragon and Castile, where collectivisation was extensive, and down in Catalonia and the Levant, where peasant proprietors were the dominant element.

Thomas' is, to my knowledge, the only attempt by a professional historian to assess the data on agricultural collectivisation in Spain in a systematic way. (Since this article was written comrade Frank Mintz has published "L'autogestion dans l'Espagne Revolutionnaire", a definitive study of self-management in revolutionary Spain. This will be published sometime next year, by Cienfuegos - provided we have the money - under the title of "Self-Management in Revolutionary Spain") He concludes that the collectives were probably "a considerable social success" and must have had strong popular support, but he is more doubtful about their economic viability. His suggestion that "Communist pressure on the collectives may have given them the necessary urge to survive" seems quite unwarranted, as does his suggestion that "the very existence of the war. . . may have been responsible for some of the success the collectives had." On the contrary, their success and spontaneous creation throughout Republican Spain suggest that they answered to deeply felt popular sentiments, and both the war and Communist pressure appear to have been highly disruptive factors - ultimately, of course, destructive factors.

Other dubious conclusions are that "in respect of redistribution of wealth, anarchist collectives were hardly much improvement over capitalism"

since "no effective way of limiting consumption in richer collectives was devised to help poorer ones." and that there was no possibility of developing large-scale planning. On the contrary, Bolloten (op. cit., pp. 176-79) points out that "In order to remedy the defects of collectivisation, as well as to iron out discrepancies in the living standards of the workers in flourishing and impoverished enterprises, the Anarchosyndicalists, although rootedly opposed to nationalisation, advocated the centralisation — or, socialisation, as they called it — under trade union control, of entire branches of production." He mentions a number of examples of partial socialisation that had some success, citing as the major difficulty that prevented still greater progress the insistence of the Communist Party and the UGT leadership — though apparently not all of the rank and file members of the UGT — on government ownership and control. According to Richards (op. cit., p. 82): "In June 1937... a National Plenum of Regional Federations of Peasants was held in Valencia to discuss the formation of a National Federation of Peasants for the co-ordination and extension of the collectivist movement and also to ensure an equitable distribution of the produce of the land, not only between the collectives but for the whole country. Again in Castile in October 1937, a merging of the 100,000 members of the Regional Federation of Peasants and the 13,000 members in the food distributive trades took place. It represented a logical step in ensuring better co-ordination, and was accepted for the whole of Spain at the National Congress of Collectives held in Valencia in November 1937." Still other plans were under consideration for regional and national coordination — see, for example, D.A. de Santillan, "After the Revolution" (New York, Greenberg Publisher, Inc., 1937), for some ideas.

Thomas feels that collectives could not have survived more than "a few years while primitive misery was being overcome." I see nothing in his data to support this conclusion. The Palestinian experience has shown that collectives can remain both a social and an economic success over a long period. The success of Spanish collectivisation, under war conditions, seems amazing. One can obviously not be certain whether these successes could have been secured and extended had it not been for the combined fascist, Communist, and liberal attack, but I can find no objective basis for the almost universal scepticism. Again, this seems to me merely a matter of irrational prejudice.

61. The following is a brief description by the anarchist writer Gaston Leval, "Ne Franco, Ne Stalin, le collettività anarchiche spagnole nella lotta contro Franco e la reazione staliniana" (Milan, Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1952), pp. 303 f.; sections reprinted in "Collectivités anarchistes en Espagne révolutionnaire," "Noir et Rouge," undated.

In the middle of the month of June, the attack began in Aragon on a grand scale and with hitherto unknown methods... The harvest was approaching. Rifles in hand, treasury guards under Communist orders stopped trucks loaded with provisions on the highways and brought them to their offices. A little later, the same guards poured into the collectives and confiscated great quantities of wheat under the authority of the general staff with headquarters in Barbastro... Later open attacks began, under the command of Lister with troops withdrawn from the front at Belchite more than 50 kilometres away, in the month of August... The final result was that 30 percent of the collectives were completely destroyed. In Alcolea, the

municipal council that governed the collective was arrested; the people who lived in the Home for the Aged... were thrown out on the street. In Mas de las Matas, in Monzon, in Barbastro, on all sides, there were arrests. Plundering took place everywhere. The stores of the cooperatives and their grain supplies were rifled; furnishings were destroyed. The governor of Aragon, who was appointed by the central government after the dissolution of the Council of Aragon — which appears to have been the signal for the armed attack against the collectives — protested. He was told to go to the devil.

On October 22, at the National Congress of Peasants, the delegation of the Regional Committee of Aragon presented a report of which the following is the summary:

"More than 600 organisers of collectives have been arrested. The government has appointed management committees that seized the warehouses and distributed their contents at random. Land, draught animals, and tools were given to individual families or to the fascists who had been spared by the revolution. The harvest was distributed in the same way. The animals raised by the collectives suffered the same fate. A great number of collectivised pig farms, stables, and dairies were destroyed. In certain communes, such as Bordon and Calaceite, even seed was confiscated and the peasants are now unable to work the land."

The estimate that 30% of the collectives were destroyed is consistent with figures reported by Peirats ("Los anarquistas en la crisis política española," p. 300). He points out that only 200 delegates attended the congress of collectives of Aragon in September 1937 ("held under the shadow of the bayonets of the Eleventh Division" cf Lister) as compared with 500 delegates at the congress of the preceding February. Peirats states that an army division of Catalan separatists and another division of the PSUC also occupied parts of Aragon during this operation, while three anarchist divisions remained at the front, under orders from the CNT-FAI leadership. Compare Jackson's explanation of the occupation of Aragon: "The peasants were known to hate the Consejo, the anarchists had deserted the front during the Barcelona fighting, and the very existence of the Consejo was a standing challenge to the authority of the central government" (bold type mine).

62. Regarding Bolloten's work, Jackson has this to say: "Throughout the present chapter, I have drawn heavily on this carefully documented study of the Communist Party in 1936-37. It is unrivalled in its coverage of the war-time press, of which Bolloten, himself a UP correspondent in Spain, made a large collection" (p. 363 n.).

63. See note 18. A number of citations from Berneri's writings are given by Broue and Temime. Morrow also presents several passages from his journal, "Guerra di Classe." A collection of his works would be a very useful contribution to our understanding of the Spanish Civil War and to the problems of revolutionary war in general.

64. Cattell, op. cit., p. 208. See also the remarks by Borkenau, Brenan, and Bolloten cited earlier. Neither Cattell nor Borkenau regards this decline of fighting spirit as a major factor, however.

65. Op. cit., p. 195, n. 7.

66. To this extent, Trotsky took a similar position.

See his "Lessons of Spain" (London, Workers' International Press, 1937).

67. Cited in Richards, op. cit., p. 23.

68. H.E. Kaminski, "Ceux de Barcelone" (Paris, Les Editions Denoel, 1937), p. 181. This book contains very interesting observations on anarchist Spain by a sceptical though sympathetic eyewitness.

69. May 15, 1937. Cited by Richards, op. cit., p. 106.

70. Cited by Broue and Temime, op. cit., p. 258, n. 34. The conquest of Saragossa was the goal, never realised, of the anarchist militia in Aragon.

71. Ibid., p. 175.

72. Ibid., p. 193.

73. The fact was not lost on foreign journalists. Morrow (op. cit., p. 68) quotes James Minifie in the "New York Herald Tribune," April 28, 1937: "A reliable police force is being built up quietly but surely. The Valencia government discovered an ideal instrument for this purpose in the Carabineros. These were formerly customs officers and guards, and always had a good reputation for loyalty. It is reported on good authority that 40,000 have been recruited for this force, and that 20,000 have already been armed and equipped... The anarchists have already noticed and complained about the increased strength of of this force at a time when we all know there's little enough traffic coming over the frontiers, land or sea. They realise that it will be used against them." Consider what these soldiers, as well as Lister's division or the "asaltos" described by Orwell, might have accomplished on the Aragon front, for example. Consider also the effect on the militiamen, deprived of arms by the central government, of the knowledge that these well-armed, highly trained troops were liquidating the accomplishments of their revolution.

74. Cited in Rocker, "The Tragedy of Spain," p. 37.

75. For references, see Bolloten, op. cit., p. 192, n. 12.

76. Cited in Rocker, "The Tragedy of Spain," p. 37.

77. Liston M. Oak, "Balance Sheet of the Spanish Revolution," "Socialist Review," Vol. 6 (September 1937), pp. 7-9, 26. This reference was brought to my attention by William B. Watson. A striking example of the distortion introduced by the propaganda efforts of the 1930's is the strange story of the influential film "The Spanish Earth," filmed in 1937 by Joris Ivens with a text (written afterwards) by Hemingway — a project that was apparently initiated by Dos Passos. A very revealing account of this matter, and of the perception of the Civil War by Hemingway and Dos Passos, is given in W.B. Watson and Barton Whaley, "The Spanish Earth of Dos Passos and and Hemingway," unpublished, 1967. The film dealt with the collectivised village of Fuentiduena in Valencia (a village collectivised by the UGT, incidentally). For the libertarian Dos Passos, the revolution was the dominant theme; it was the antifascist war, however, that was to preoccupy Hemingway. The role of Dos Passos was quickly forgotten, because of the fact (as Watson and Whaley point out) that Dos Passos "had become anathema to the Left for his criticisms of communist policies in Spain."

78. As far as the East is concerned, Rocker ("The Tragedy of Spain," p. 25) claims that "the Russian press, for reasons that are easily understood, never uttered one least little word about the efforts of the Spanish workers and peasants at social reconstruction." I cannot

check the accuracy of this claim, but it would hardly be surprising if it were correct.

79. See Patricia A.M. Van der Esch, "Prelude to War: The International Repercussions of the Spanish Civil War (1935-1939)" (The Hague, Martinus Nijhof, 1951), p. 47, and Brennan, op. cit., p. 329, n. 1. The conservative character of the Basque government was also, apparently, largely a result of French pressure. See Broue and Temime, op. cit., p. 172, no. 8.

80. See Dante A. Puzzo, "Spain and the Great Powers: 1936-1941" (New York, Columbia University Press, 1962), pp. 86 f. This book gives a detailed and very insightful analysis of the international background of the Civil War.

81. Jules Sauerwein, dispatch to the "New York Times" dated July 26. Cited by Puzzo, op. cit., p. 84.

82. Cf., for example, Jackson, op. cit., pp. 248f.

83. As reported by Herschel V. Johnson of the American embassy in London; cited by Puzzo, op. cit., p. 100.

84. See Broue and Temime, op. cit., pp. 288-89.

85. Cited by Thomas, "The Spanish Civil War," p. 531, no. 3. Rucker, "The Tragedy of Spain," p. 14, quotes (without reference) a proposal by Churchill for a five year "neutral dictatorship" to "tranquillise" the country, after which they could "perhaps look for a revival of parliamentary institutions."

86. Puzzo, op. cit., p. 116.

87. Ibid., p. 147. Eden is referring, of course, to the Soviet Union. For an analysis of Russian assistance to the Spanish Republic, see Cattell, op. cit., Ch.8.

88. Cf. Puzzo, op. cit., pp. 147-48.

89. Ibid., p. 212.

90. Ibid., p. 93.

91. Op. cit., p. 248.

92. Puzzo, op. cit., pp. 151 f.

93. Ibid., pp. 154-55 and n. 27.

94. For some references, see Allen Guttman, "The Wound in the Heart: America and the Spanish Civil War" (New York, The Free Press, 1962), pp. 137-38. The earliest quasi-official reference that I know of is in Herbert Freis, "The Spanish Story," (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), where data is given in an appendix. Jackson (op. cit., p. 256) refers to this matter, without noting that Texaco was violating a prior agreement with the Republic. He states that the Amer-

ican government could do nothing about this, since "oil was not considered a war material under the Neutrality Act." He does not point out, however, that Robert Cuse, the Martin Company, and the Mexican government were put under heavy pressure to withhold supplies from the Republic, although this too was quite legal. As noted, the Texaco Company was never even branded "unethical" or "unpatriotic," these epithets of Roosevelt's being reserved for those who tried to assist the Republic. The cynic might ask just why oil was excluded from the Neutrality Act of January 1937, noting that while Germany and Italy were capable of supplying arms to Franco, they could not meet his demands for oil.

The Texaco Oil Company continued to act upon the pro-Nazi sympathies of its head, Captain Thor-kild Rieber, until August 1940, when the publicity began to be a threat to business. See Feis, op. cit., for further details. For more on these matters, see Richard P. Traina, "American Diplomacy and the Spanish Civil War" (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1968), pp. 166 f.

95. Puzzo, op. cit., p. 160. He remarks: "A government in Madrid in which Socialists, Communists, and anarchists sat was not without menace to American business interests both in Spain and Latin America" (p. 165). Hull, incidentally, was in error about the acts of the Spanish government. The irresponsible left-wing elements had not been given arms but had seized them, thus preventing an immediate Franco victory.

96. See Jackson, op. cit., p. 458.

97. Cf. Guttman, op. cit., p. 197. Of course, American liberalism was always proloyalist, and opposed both to Franco and to the revolution. The attitude towards the latter is indicated with accuracy by this comparison, noted by Guttman, p. 165: "300 people met in Union Square to hear Liston Oak [see note 77] expose the Stalinist role in Spain; 20,000 met in Madison Square Garden to help Earl Browder and Norman Thomas celebrate the preservation of bourgeois democracy," in July 1937.

98. Ibid., p. 198.

99. To conclude these observations about the international reaction, it should be noted that the Vatican recognised the Franco government "de facto" in August 1937 and "de jure" in May 1938. Immediately upon Franco's final victory, Pope Pius XII made the following statement: "Peace and victory have been willed by God to Spain. . . which has now given to proselytes of the materialistic atheism of our age the highest proof that above all things stands the eternal

value of religion and of the Spirit." Of course, the position of the Catholic Church has since undergone important shifts - something that cannot be said of the American government.

100. See note 14.

101. See, for example, the reference to Machajski in Harlod D. Lasswell, "The World Revolution of Our Time: A Framework for Basic Policy Research" (Hoover Institute Studies; Stanford, Cal., Stanford University Press, 1951); reprinted, with extensions, in Harold D. Lasswell and Daniel Lerner, eds., "World Revolutionary Elites: Studies in Coercive Ideological Movements" (Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T. Press, 1965), pp. 29-96. Daniel Bell has a more extensive discussion of Machajski's critique of socialism as the ideology of a new system of exploitation in which the "intellectual workers" will dominate, in a very informative essay that bears directly on a number of the topics that have been mentioned here: "Two Roads from Marx: The Themes of Alienation and Exploitation, and Workers' Control if Socialist Thought," in "The End of Ideology," pp. 355-68.

102. Lasswell, op. cit., p. 85. In this respect, Lasswell's prognosis resembles that of Bell in the essays cited earlier.

103. Summarised in the "Christian Science Monitor," March 15, 1968. I have not seen the text and therefore cannot judge the accuracy of the report.

104. To mention just the most recent example: on January 22, 1968, McNamara testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee that the "evidence appears overwhelming that beginning in 1966 Communist local and guerrilla forces have sustained substantial attrition. As a result, there has been a drop in combat efficiency and morale. . .". The Tet offensive was launched within a week of this testimony. See I.F. Stone's Weekly, February 19, 1968, for some highly appropriate commentary.

105. The reality behind the rhetoric has been amply reported. A particularly revealing description is given by Katsuichi Honda, a reporter for "Asahi Shimbun," in "Vietnam - A Voice from the Villages," 1967, obtainable from the Committee for the English Publication of "Vietnam - A Voice from the Villages," c/o Mrs. Reiko Ishida, 2-13-7, Nishikata, Bunkyo-Ku, Tokyo.



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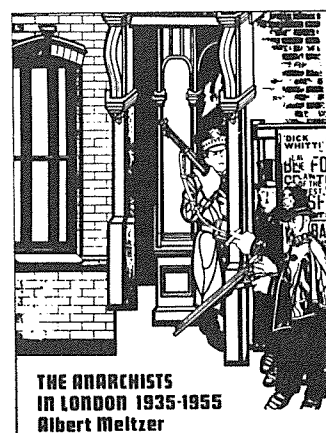
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francisco ferrer

AN INTRODUCTION

This account of the life and death of Francisco Ferrer Guardia was written by William Archer for the October and November issues of *McClure's Magazine* for 1910. Archer, a freelance journalist, had been commissioned by the magazine editor to go to Spain to find new material on the Ferrer case, as public interest in the affair had been revived. During his stay in Spain, Archer was able to interview both Ferrer's family and friends, as well as his opponents. He was also able to consult the many new books on the Tragic Week that had, at the time, just been published, and the official trial report, *Juicio Ordinario Seguido... contra Francisco Ferrer Guardia*. It is therefore to Archer's credit, that on his return from Spain, he was able to write a very fine and well documented article.

Yet while describing the events and trial that lead up to the murder of Ferrer by the vindictive Spanish Catholic state Archer has ignored the true personality of Ferrer, both as an anarchist and an educationalist. Archer was not an anarchist and had little sympathy for Ferrer on that score. Yet Ferrer's anarchism is never mentioned in any great detail, nor his connection with the anarchist movement in Spain. Ferrer the educator is dismissed as being crude "*Ferrer was not a great educator*" Archer writes "*he was not a great man; his thoughts were crude, his methods were crude.*" This in fact is far from the truth. In this short introduction we will examine both these aspects of Ferrer's life. This will show a Ferrer very far removed from the man portrayed by Archer.

Firstly, Ferrer the anarchist: Ferrer's anarchism has never been examined to any great length, no doubt because his writings on anarchism are few. Nevertheless though, he was a militant despite Woodcock's misleading assertion in *Anarchism*, that Ferrer was "adopted" by the anarchists only after his death.

Most probably Ferrer became an anarchist while in France after his break with Ruiz Zorrilla. On his return to Spain in 1901, he founded with Ignacio Clavia, the newspaper *La Huelga General*, the first issue of which appeared in Barcelona on the 15th November. The paper was to last until 1903 and its collaborators included Anselmo Lorenzo, M. Castellote and Ricardo Mella. In *La Huelga General* Ferrer was able to express fully his anarchism and in the first issue, under the pseudonym of Cero he wrote:

"... It is a well known fact that peoples' knowledge about the condition of their lives is limited to what the master class desire them to know. Very few are those who think about what they read, and fewer still those who had an opportunity to study the anarchist ideal.

In the opinion of the great majority of people the Anarchists are either assassins paid by the Jesuits or mean, unworthy, low persons, criminals and degenerates.

People are still inclined to think that should the day come when the Anarchists shall "rule" nobody would be safe in his person and nobody could feel sure in the possession of the smallest thing, since they aim at the "destruction" of property.

Yet it must be remembered — and we ought to repeat this as often as we can — that in a well organised society, viz — an Anarchist society, everyone will have his own house, his furniture, his clothes, his works of art, his tools, everything in fact that will help to make his life comfortable and happy.

We shall not pass from the absurd and foolish system of today, founded on authority and property, to one of solidarity and the fraternity as rapidly as things are done on the stage, by a quick change of scenery: on the contrary it will require all the propaganda all the *teaching*, and, above everything, all the example that we can afford to give in order to make an impression upon the mentality of the irrational unreflective beings who today form the great majority of the population.

We Anarchists desire to destroy property as it exists today because it is the result of the exploitation of man by man, of privilege assisted by the state and of the unjust right of the stronger.

We Anarchists think it is not just that there should be side by side owners of vast estates and people who have not a piece of land on which to stretch themselves: persons on whom all riches of the world descend by right of birth, and persons to whom all the sorrow and misery of the world are the only heritage.

We Anarchists do not think that a title-deed or a will is sufficient justification for a person to spend his life without working and without contribut-

ing to the common welfare.

In the Anarchist society the education and the instruction of children shall be such as to point out to them the duty and necessity of work, and that from this duty only those shall be exempt who are physically incapable.

Since in the anarchistic society there will not be any longer the bad example and the perverting influence of the sight of people slaving away all the day long side by side with others whose whole occupation is the change of amusements: since there will no longer be the disturbing moral influence that comes from daily seeing and taking for granted that there should be side by side hungry people and people over-fed, everybody will — as a matter of course — contribute to the production of the common social wealth, in proportion to his abilities and power, and food will be assured to all.

It will then be quite easy to the teachers and educators of the day to impress upon the young mind the duty, the pleasure and the necessity of work.

Mankind having attained to a certain degree of reasonableness it will also be comparatively easy to find out a working arrangement by which everyone could retain possession of the things he likes and cherishes, even without harm resulting to anybody from this right to a form of personal property, or that it should create a supremacy of a class of men over another.

In a few words: many today oppose Anarchism for no other reason than they are unable to conceive a rational and well-organised society..."

In 1907 Ferrer, in collaboration with Anselmo Lorenzo, Jose Prats and Enrique Puget founded *Solidaridad Obrera*. Ferrer lending a large sum of money for the renting of an editorial office. In the 1930's *Solidaridad Obrera* was to become, as the organ of the C.N.T., the best known Spanish anarchist newspaper.

Secondly, Ferrer the educationalist: Ferrer began to formulate his educationalist ideas in parallel with the development of his anarchism. While a teacher of Spanish in France he began to see, by close observation, that the injustice and exploitation in society was not *only* the result of authoritarian educational methods, *but more importantly* the result of what was taught by these authoritarian methods. Ferrer soon understood that as long as the education of children, the adults of tomorrow, was left in the hands of both the church and the ruling classes there would be no hope of attaining the libertarian society that he, as an anarchist, longed for. Reform of the existing school system, he thought, was futile. Explaining the working of this system in his little book *La Escuela Moderna* (to be published soon by Cienfuegos Press), published after his death, he wrote:

"... One word will suffice to characterise it (the existing school system) — Violence. The school dominates the children physically, morally, and intellectually, in order to control the development of their faculties in the way desired, and deprive them of contact with nature in order to modify them as required. This is the explanation of the failure; the eagerness of the ruling class to control education and the bankruptcy of the hopes of reformers. "Education" means in practice domination or domestication. I do not imagine that these systems have not been put together with the deliberate aim of securing the desired results. That would be the work of a genius. But things have happened just as if the actual scheme of education corresponded to some vast and deliberate conception; it could not have been done better. To attain it teachers have inspired themselves solely with the principles of discipline and authority, which always appeal to social organisers; such men have only one clear idea and one will — the children must learn to obey, to believe, and to think according to the prevailing social dogmas. If this were the aim, education could not be other than we find it today. There is no question of promoting the spontaneous development of the child's faculties, or encouraging it to seek freely the satisfaction of the physical, intellectual and moral needs. There is question only of imposing ready-made ideas on it, of preventing it from ever thinking otherwise than is required for the maintenance of existing social institutions — of making it, in a word, an individual rigorously adapted to the social mechanism..."²

and describing the teachers he wrote:

"... The teachers are merely conscious or unconscious organs of their (the ruling classes) will, and have been trained on their principles. From their

tenderest years, and more drastically than anybody, they have endured the discipline of authority. Very few have escaped this despotic domination; they are generally powerless against it, because they are oppressed by the scholastic organisation to such an extent that they have nothing to do but obey...³

He was, therefore, convinced that the only way to regenerate society was through a new system of education. An education Ferrer preferred to call rationalist, which we would call libertarian, free from all dogmas and systems whether they be religious, political, nationalistic, republican or what you will. To this end, on being left a substantial sum of money, Ferrer returned to Spain where, after much preparation, his school, *La Escuela Moderna*, was opened in Barcelona in September 1901.

The *Escuela Moderna* was by no means the first example of libertarian education. It was preceded in France by Paul Robin's experimental school at Cempuis which ran from 1880 to 1894 (Robin's example was to influence Ferrer) and later Sebastian Faure's *La Ruche* (1906-1916).⁴ But it was *La Escuela Moderna* that was to become the most well-known, no doubt because of the stand it made against the church in Spain and the savagery of Ferrer's murder. It must be remembered also that the French examples were working when a system of secular state education had already been introduced in France.

From the outset Ferrer was determined that the children in *La Escuela Moderna* would have an education that would prepare them fully for their adult life, a life, he hoped, that would be free of ignorance and prejudice.

"... Neither dogmas nor systems, moulds that confine vitality to the narrow exigencies of a transitory form of society, will be taught. Only solutions approved by the facts, theories accepted by reason, and truths confirmed by evidence, shall be included in our lessons, so that each mind shall be trained to control a will, and truths shall irradiate the intelligence, and, when applied in practice, will benefit the whole of humanity without any unworthy and disgraceful exclusiveness..."⁵

Beginning, in the first year, with 30 children the numbers increased to 266 by the third year, boys and girls being both taken in complete equality, as were children of the working and middle classes. Ferrer saw the very great importance of co-education:

"... In my own mind, co-education was of vital importance. It was not merely an indispensable condition of realising what I regard as the ideal result of rational education; it was the ideal itself, initiating its life in the Modern School, developing progressively without any form of exclusion, inspiring a confidence of attaining our end. Natural science, philosophy, and history unite in teaching, in face of all prejudice to the contrary, that man and woman are two complementary aspects of human nature, and the failure to recognise this essential and important truth has had the most disastrous consequences... Woman must not be restricted to the home. The sphere of her activity must go out far beyond her home; it must extend to the very confines of society. But in order to ensure a helpful result from her activity we must not restrict the amount of knowledge we communicate to her; she must learn, both in regard to quality and quantity, the same things as man. When science enters the mind of a woman it will direct her rich vein of emotion, the characteristic element of her nature; the glad harbinger of peace and happiness among men..."⁶

This on its own was a radical change from a vast number of school systems in operation at the time, but by far the most important innovation introduced into the *Escuela Moderna* was made by Ferrer in his position to punishment and scholastic examination:

"... Having admitted and practised the co-education of boys and girls, of rich and poor — having, that is to say, started from the principle of solidarity and equality — we are not prepared to create a new inequality. Hence, in the Modern School there will be no rewards and no punishments; there will be no examinations to puff up some children with the flattering title of "excellent" to give others the vulgar title of "good", and to make others unhappy with a consciousness of incapacity and failure... Since we are not educating for a specific purpose, we cannot determine the capacity or incapacity of the child. When we teach a science, or art, or trade, or some subject requiring special conditions, an examination may be useful, and there may be reason to give a diploma or refuse one; I neither affirm nor deny this. But there is no such specialism in the Modern School. The characteristic note of the school, distinguishing it even from some which pass as progressive models, is that in it the faculties of the children shall develop freely without subjection to any dogmatic patron, not even to what it may consider the body of convictions of the founder and teachers; every pupil shall go forth from it into social life with the ability to be his own master and guide his own life in all things.

Hence, if we were rationally prevented from giving prizes, we could not impose penalties, and no one would have dreamed of doing so in our school if the idea had not been suggested from without. Sometimes parents came to me with the rank proverb, "Letters go in with blood," on their lips, and begged me to punish their children. Others who were charmed with the precocious talent of their children wanted to see them shine in examinations

and exhibit medals. We refuse to admit either prizes or punishments, and sent the parents away. If any child were conspicuous for merit, application, laziness, or bad conduct, we pointed out to it the need of accord, or the unhappiness of lack of accord, with its own welfare and that of others, and the teacher might give a lecture on the subject. Nothing more was done, and the parents were gradually reconciled to this system, though they often had to be corrected in their errors and prejudices by their own children...

... The teachers who offer their services to the Modern School, or ask our recommendation to teach in similar schools, must refrain from any moral or material punishment, under the penalty of being disqualified permanently. Scolding, impatience, and anger ought to disappear with the ancient title of "master". In free schools all should be peace, gladness and fraternity. We trust that this will suffice to put an end to these practices, which are most improper in people whose sole ideal is the training of a generation fitted to establish a really fraternal, harmonious, and just state of society..."⁷

This is what set the *Escuela Moderna* apart from most schools past and present.

The *Escuela Moderna* though was not without teething problems. Firstly over teachers and secondly over text books. The problem with teachers at the beginning was perplexing. Ferrer saw the drawback of employing professional teachers because of their traditional attitude towards the child-teacher relationship, and even more of employing volunteers who understood the importance of the school but had had no teaching experience. Ferrer, therefore, founded a Rationalist Normal School for the training of teachers, both men and women. This was to be closed down at the same time as the *Escuela Moderna*.

Textbooks also presented a problem. The books available for Spanish schools at the time were of no use whatsoever. Take, for example, geography. Ferrer wrote to Elisee Reclus asking him to recommend a text book for the teaching of that subject. Reclus replied that he did not know of one book that was not tainted with religious or patriotic poison, or, what is worse, administrative routine. He therefore recommended that the teachers should use no textbooks at all.⁸ This was only one subject out of many. Ferrer therefore sought the help and collaboration of the most progressive educators and scientists of the time, and had their works translated into Spanish, and where necessary, he requested that they write new works specifically for the school. In this way the collaborators and supporters of the *Escuela Moderna* included Odon de Buen, Letourneau, Jean Grave, Elisee Reclus, Charles Albert, Charles Malato, Clemence Jacquinet, Martinez Vargas, Anselmo Lorenzo, Tarrida del Marmol and C.A. Laisant (the grandfather of the present publication director of *Le Monde Libertaire*). It is of interest to note that one of the most popular books in the school was *The Adventures of Nono* by Jean Grave.

This then, in brief, was the work and ideas of Ferrer. The *Escuela Moderna*, he wrote just after its foundation, would not be the perfect type of the future school of a rational state of society, but a precursor of it. In spite of this modest statement the example of Francisco Ferrer and his *Escuela Moderna* shines out today in a world where children are still educated with the same ignorance and prejudice that he tried, once and for all, to eradicate.

Ferrer's influence began before his death. Through him many Modern Schools were founded in Spain based on his *Escuela Moderna*. In Lausanne a Ferrer school was founded by an anarchist teacher, Jean Wintch,⁹ which lasted from 1910 to 1919. But his ideas were put into practice on the largest scale by the anarchists during the Spanish Civil War.

Dave Poole

Notes:

1. This article was first translated and published in *The Anarchist* December 27th 1912, Vol. I, No. 31.
2. Francisco Ferrer, *The Origin and Ideas of the Modern School*, pp. 49-50.
3. *ibid* p. 49
4. For an excellent study of these two great examples of libertarian education see Paul Robin et l'Education integrale in "*Le Monde Libertaire*" nos. 124, 125 and 127 (August, September, October and December 1966) and Sebastian Faure et la Ruche, "*Le Monde Libertaire*" nos. 136 and 137 (November and December 1967) both by Rene Bianco.
5. Ferrer, *op. cit* p. 80.
6. *ibid* p. 25 and 30.
7. *ibid* pp. 55-56 and 59.
8. *ibid* p. 68.
9. See Le Dr. Wintch et l'ecole Ferrer de Lausanne, "*Le Monde Libertaire*" no. 130 (March 1967) by Rene Bianco.

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the life and death of FERRER

BY WILLIAM ARCHER

FERRER AND THE BARCELONA RIOTS

On October 9, 1909, Francisco Ferrer was sentenced to death on the charge of being the "author and chief" of what is known as the "Revolution of July" in Barcelona. On October 13th the sentence was executed in the trenches of the fortress of Montjuich. Instantly there arose in almost all the principal cities of Europe a storm of protest. In Paris there was fighting in the street, resulting in one death and many injuries. In London a demonstration took place in Trafalgar Square, and the police had some difficulty in protecting the Spanish Embassy from attack. Great meetings of protest were held in Rome, Lisbon, Berlin, Brussels, Zurich and many other places. Demonstrations took place in front of the Spanish Consulate in almost every seaport of France and Italy. The execution was denounced as a judicial crime of the blackest type, and Ferrer was glorified as a martyr of free thought, done to death by a sinister and vindictive clericalism. Nine days later the Maura Cabinet resigned, its fall being due in great measure to the evil repute it had brought upon itself and upon Spain by hurrying Ferrer to his death. But, when the tempest of popular fury had subsided, the Roman Catholics of all countries came forward to the rescue and vindication of their Spanish brethren. They said (quite truly) that not one in twenty of the people who shouted themselves hoarse in honour of the atheist martyr knew anything of the facts of his case. They said that Ferrer was a notorious evil liver, who had left his wife and children to starve while he spent with his mistresses the wealth which he had wheedled out of a too confiding old maid by a hypocritical pretence of piety and philanthropy. They said that he had certainly been concerned in Morral's attempt upon the King and Queen of Spain, though he had so skilfully covered his tracks that the crime could not be brought home to him. They said that he had engineered the Barcelona revolt in order to make money by a stock-exchange gamble. And finally, they said that, after a trial conducted in strict accordance with the law of the land, he had been proved beyond a doubt to have acted as organiser and director of an insurrection which

had been accompanied by murder, sacrilege, and unprecedented scenes of rapine and havoc. "Did anyone ever deserve death," they asked, "if this man did not?"

Assuredly he deserved death, by the laws of all nations, if he was the instigator and director of the rising. But was he? That is the point which we have to investigate.

It was in this character, and in no other, that he was condemned. The prosecution formally renounced at the outset all attempt to bring home to him any individual act of violence. It was as "author and chief of the rebellion" — "*autor y jefe de la rebelion*" — that he was found guilty and shot. The phrase occurs not only in the actual sentence of death, but

nearly twenty times in the three speeches for the prosecution, published with the sanction of the Spanish Government¹. Other accusations brought against him have, then, no real relevance. But, as he was unquestionably surrounded by a dense atmosphere of evil report — an atmosphere which breathes from every page of the "Process," — it may be well, before examining the essential points of the case, to analyse this atmosphere, and distinguish between the elements of truth and of falsehood in its composition.

Marriage and Morals

Francisco Ferrer (born January 10, 1859, at



The Execution of Ferrer in the moat of Montjuich Castle

Allela, a village twelve miles from Barcelona) came of peasant stock and received the education of a peasant. He was for some time a shop-boy in Barcelona, then ticket inspector on the railway between Barcelona and the French frontier. He very early embraced Republican and anti-clerical opinions, and became a trusted agent of the Republican leader, Ruiz Zorrilla, then living in exile. In 1885, having been concerned in one of the many revolutionary attempts of that period he went to Paris, kept a wine-shop until 1889, and afterwards made his living by giving lessons in Spanish, while acting as unpaid secretary to Zorrilla. He had married young, a woman older than himself; and his marriage was extremely unhappy. I have closely investigated its story, and have convinced myself — mainly, though not solely, on the evidence of his eldest daughter — that the major part of the blame lay with the wife. On June 12, 1894, she fired three shots at him with a revolver, wounding him slightly. For this she was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, but the sentence, under a first-offender's act was at once remitted. She then went off to Russia, taking her youngest daughter with her, and contracted what is sometimes called a marriage with a Russian whom she had known in Paris.

The two elder daughters, Trinidad and Paz, indignantly deny that Ferrer was a neglectful father. On the contrary, he was extremely affectionate and indulgent. Anxious to remove them from a home that was in every way undesirable, he consigned them, in early girlhood, to the care of his brother Jose, who was in business as a market-gardener at Bendigo, Australia. He maintained a constant correspondence with them, and twice, in 1896 and 1898, he went to Australia to see them, submitting to great privations in order to scrape together the passage money. To the end, his relations with them were excellent, though the younger, Paz, did not share his ideas. The elder, Trinidad, prosecuted, before the Civil Tribunal of Charleville, the printer of an anonymous libel upon her dead father which described him as "*miserable comme pere*". The defendant had to pay four hundred francs in damages and advertise the judgment in various ways.

Ferrer tried hard, but in vain, to obtain a divorce from his wife. In Spain it was impossible; and he could not obtain the naturalisation which would have made it possible in France. After the affair of the revolver, he entered upon a "free union" with a French lady, which lasted until 1905. The dissolution of this partnership was far from amicable, and the lady (with whom I have had a long conversation, followed by correspondence) is a hostile witness as regards Ferrer's personal character. But she does not believe him capable of the crimes imputed to him. "He was a man of very advanced ideas," she says, "but he was not an Anarchist, and he never wanted to do harm to any one." After the rupture with this lady, Ferrer formed a second union with Soledad Villafranca, an ardent disciple and co-worker, who was his companion to the end. It is perfectly true, then that he was a man of irregular life; nor can the irregularity be explained away on the grounds that he could not free himself from his disastrous marriage. Though we find him, even as late as 1898, making efforts to obtain a divorce, it cannot be pretended that he suffered greatly under his disability, or that he was averse on principle from the "free unions" in which he lived.

Mademoiselle Meunier's Money

We come now to the story of his fortune. Among his pupils in Paris was a middle-aged maiden lady, Mlle Ernestine Meunier, pious artistic, and wealthy. Ferrer, who had a passion for propaganda, tried to convert her to his ideas, and was in great measure successful. We know exactly the measure of his success, from a letter written by Mlle Meunier on November 2, 1899, and quoted by the prosecution at Ferrer's trial (see "Process") in which she states that her reverence for the clergy is dead, that her admiration for the army is dead, that her respect for constituted authority is dead; but that she still clings to her faith in a beneficent God. This document scatters to the winds the suggestion that Ferrer deceived her as to the nature of his ideas. She became an intimate friend of the lady who was then sharing Ferrer's life, and in the autumn of 1900 she determined to devote part of her fortune to the furthering of the educational projects which (as we shall see) had taken absolute hold of Ferrer's mind. Her intended donation *inter vivos* was never carried out; but on January 21, 1901, she made a will leaving to Ferrer, without any condition whatever, a house in Paris (11 Rue des Petites Ecuries) producing a yearly revenue of about seven thousand dollars. This was, roughly, half her fortune. To the religious institutions, to which in bygone days she had been a liberal benefactress, she bequeathed nothing at all; but she left six hundred dollars to be devoted to the saying of masses for her mother's soul and her own. The frame of mind indicated in her will is exactly that of the letter above cited. Ferrer has convinced her understanding, but not her feelings; and, while she is desirous of contributing to the advancement of his educational ideal, she still clings to the conception of God, and to the practices consecrated by the fuller faith in which her mother died. The will was so clear and businesslike that when Mlle Meunier died (April 12, 1901) her executor and residuary legatee, an ardent Italian clerical, could not contest it, but, with very ill grace, put Ferrer in possession of his legacy.

Enthusiast or Hypocrite?

Ever since the death of Zorrilla in 1895, Ferrer had been feeling more and more strongly that political revolutions were of no use in Spain until the people were sufficiently educated to benefit by them. More than fifty per cent of the Spanish population is illiterate, and most of those who can read and write have been miserably taught by underpaid masters, in unsanitary and ill-provided schools. Few people will differ from Ferrer in thinking that, until this crying evil is remedied, all changes of political machinery must be premature and futile. With this idea strong in his mind, he ceased to take any active part in politics, and devoted himself with almost fanatical zeal to education. Mlle Meunier's legacy he regarded as a trust, to be applied to this great purpose; and only six months after her death he started the now famous *Escuela Moderna* (Modern School) at Barcelona. Though now a rich man, he in no way changed the simple style of his living. His farm-house at Mongat would, in a colder climate, be reckoned little better than a hovel. In Paris he stayed at the most modest hotels; in London at a middle-class boarding-house. Nothing can be further from the truth than the legend which pictures him living in luxury on the spoils of his hypocrisy.

But was his whole enthusiasm for education a still deeper hypocrisy, designed as a mask for the sedulous prosecution of violent anarchism? That may be briefly termed the "theory of the police." It is a theory that has been communicated by the Spanish police to their English colleagues; but I cannot find that the latter at any rate, have an atom of evidence to support it. If it be a true theory, Ferrer was certainly one of the profoundest hypocrites on record. He declared his conversion from politics to education in letters to private friends whom he had no interest in deceiving. He not only started the *Escuela Moderna*, but he published something like forty volumes of educational and scientific books destined for use in his own school and others modeled upon it. He published a monthly *Boletín* devoted entirely to educational subjects. When his school was closed by the Government, he started, in Brussels, an educational review, "*L'Ecole Renovee*," and he founded a "League for the Rational Education of Youth," of which Anatole France was honorary president. He projected a normal school in Barcelona for the training of teachers; and he had gone some way in his preparations for publishing a great educational encyclopedia. His letters, published and unpublished (of the latter I have seen many), are full of education. It was the obsession, the craze, of his later life. I do not see how any one who has gone into the evidence can believe for a moment that his enthusiasm was insincere and adopted as a mask for ulterior designs.

The Training of Revolutionists

But there is education and education, and an educator may be at once very sincere and very unwise. Unquestionably the teaching administered in the *Escuela Moderna* was of a kind that could not but excite the utmost horror in clerical and conservative minds. Ferrer was from first to last an ardent revolutionist. He never for a moment denied it. He had come to think that Spain was not yet ripe for revolution; but the whole object of his work was to correct her unripeness by educating revolutionists. Was his revolutionism synonymous with violent anarchism — what is called in Spain *anarquismo de accion*? That is one of the questions upon which our judgment as to the justice or injustice of his execution will have to turn. For the present I can only say that, after a pretty extensive search, I have found only one brief article in the publications of the *Escuela Moderna* that can be construed as inciting to violence. It is a translation from the French of Dr. Meslier, a Socialist deputy, in which tyrannicide is defended, when a people has no other resource against intolerable wrongs. It contains no sentiments that have not been uttered a hundred times in every college debating club; but it is undeniably a palliation of political crime, and might not unreasonably have been cited against Ferrer at the Madrid trial of 1907.

It is unfortunate that the word "anarchism" is so closely associated in the popular mind with the throwing of bombs. In Spain, where a great majority of the working class are Anarchists, in the sense of being opposed to a centralised state, people have tried to escape from the ambiguity by employing another word, *acratism*, which may be interpreted "opposition to power." An acratist Ferrer certainly was, and his whole teaching was directed toward the inculcation of dogmatic acratism. It was anti-religious, anti-monarchical, anti-patriotic, anti-militarist, anti-capitalist,

Though opposed on principle to rewards no less than to punishments, he broke through his principle and offered a reward for an inscription, to be placarded in his school-rooms, showing the absurdity of doing homage to the national flag. Such observances were "atavisms" (a favourite word of his) which he detested.

He deceived himself in thinking that his method of teaching left the child's intelligence to develop freely. The extracts which he himself published from the essays of his pupils show plainly that they were crammed with dogmas, just as they would have been in a clerical school; only the dogmas happened to be rationalistic and libertarian. There are very few countries in which teaching so openly hostile to the existing form of government and to the whole social order would be endured. One can scarcely imagine what would happen if such a school were established, and found numerous imitators, in America or England; but assuredly the principle of toleration would be strained to its limit. Ferrer however, carried on his campaign unmolested for five years. One of the best known "acratists" in Barcelona said to me: "In this country, so long as everything is quiet, we are freer than you are in England; but the moment public order is disturbed we are in the grip of tyranny."

Public order was disturbed on May 31, 1906, by the throwing of a bomb at the wedding procession of the King and Queen of Spain. They escaped uninjured, but fifteen people were killed and many wounded. The perpetrator of the crime, Mateo Morral, had for some time been librarian in the Escuela Moderna. Ferrer was arrested and the school was closed. Every effort was made to have him tried by a military tribunal, but the efforts failed. After spending a year in prison, he was acquitted by a civil tribunal, which held that the prosecution had "failed to establish any link between the presumption engendered by the opinions of the accused and the actual misdeed committed."

Prohibited from reopening his school, Ferrer devoted himself to the publishing business which he called the *Librería de la Escuela Moderna*, and the work of educational propaganda already referred to. Thus he passed two years tranquilly enough; until, on July 9, 1909, "a scrimmage at a border station" in Morocco started the train of events which was destined to lead to his destruction.

Barcelona

As the tragedy approaches it is time to set the scene.

On a strip of gently sloping seaboard, about four miles wide, between the Mediterranean and the coast range of Catalonia, Barcelona and its suburbs occupy one of the finest situations imaginable. Naples and Genoa are more picturesque, inasmuch as they rise more abruptly from the sea. But here nature seems to have beveled the coast expressly for the convenience of a great city. Down by the harbour lies the old Barcelona, with its gloomy grand Cathedral and its narrow streets. Its outline is, roughly speaking, oval, and it is bisected, along the shorter axis, by the magnificent shady promenade of the Ramblas, three quarters of a mile long, and certainly one of the most animated thoroughfares in the world. Old Barcelona, however, is merely the nucleus of the modern town, laid out on the rectangular American plan, but saved from monotony by splendid diagonal boulevards, and by the fact that every here and there one comes upon the old streets of one of the many villages — Sans, Gracia, San Martin de

Provensals etc., — now embraced in the city limits. The planning of the *ensanches* or extensions, as the new parts of the city are called, is extraordinarily spacious and noble; and nearly every street has its double row of plane trees. At about three miles inland the gentle slope becomes steeper, and we soon find ourselves among the gullies of some low foothills, covered with gay and often fantastic villas. Then, from the foothills, the escarpments of Tibidabo and Vallvidrera suddenly and almost precipitously rise to a height of over seventeen hundred feet; and if we take the funicular railway up to Tibidabo, we find in the hinterland nothing but a vast corrugation of mountain ranges, with the majestic Montserrat towering in the middle distance. Amid these ranges, however, there lurk several busy and populous manufacturing towns.

To the north the low coast-line runs off with an eastward curve, the mountains drawing gradually nearer to it; and for some fifteen miles the beach is lined by an almost unbroken string of long villages, flat and unpicturesque, seldom extending more than a stone's throw inland. Among them are Mongat, Masnou, and Premià de Mar, all scenes in the coming story. And to the southward — what? To the southward nothing but Montjuich. Its fort-crowned bluff, rising out of the sea to a height of seven hundred and fifty feet, closes the vista from almost every point. The poorer streets of the old town of Barcelona crowd close up to its flanks; and from distant Premià, beyond the curving coast and smoke-veil of the city, it is still seen frowning on the horizon. With its sinister associations, it dominates the whole region. As soon as the boy Ferrer looked abroad upon the world, he must have seen Montjuich on the horizon of his life. From the home of his later years, he could not take a hundred steps without its confronting him. It loomed daily and hourly before the eyes of the terror-stricken villagers whose testimony did him to death.

Populace and Priesthood

In the city thus sloping to the morning sun, between the mountains and the sea, there are more than half a million industrious but excitable and turbulent people. There is great wealth. On the Paseo de Gracia and other magnificent avenues the rich merchants and manufacturers have built themselves houses that in point of expensiveness would do credit to Fifth Avenue, though the Neo-Catalan architecture is often too hideous in its eccentricity. In the lower quarters of the town, on the other hand, one gathers — what I believe to be the fact — that there is little or no very dire poverty. The Catalonian workman is exceptionally well off. The climate of Barcelona is almost perfect; unemployment is rare; food is cheap, lodging not extravagantly dear. The so-called Paralelo, a noble boulevard largely given up to workmen's cafes, theatres, and variety shows, affords at night the most brilliant and animated spectacle of its kind I ever saw. For a few cents the workman can spend his evenings in a really palatial cafe, debating, playing games, and imbibing highly coloured but not too poisonous refreshments. Drunkenness is very rare; so are "crimes of passion." But beneath this smiling and prosperous surface there lurks every form of faction and discontent. Of the bomb plague I do not speak. In its present phase it is literally a plague, a disease, which somehow settled on Barcelona. It is pretty certain that no political party is responsible for it,

though every party now and then lays it to the charge of its opponents. The terrorists are in all probability a tiny group — if a group they can be called — of political Jack-the-Rippers. Certainly they are not to be confounded with the Anarchists, who form a large majority of the working population. Then there are Socialists, comparatively weak, Republicans, strong among the middle classes, Catalan Home-Rulers, Carlists, and other parties whose tenets it would take too long to expound. The only party a little hard to discover is the party which is at all warmly attached to the monarchy and the existing order of things. This is a point which it is only just that we should clearly bear in mind. In most English-speaking countries we have forgotten what it means to have to deal with any considerable political party whose avowed aim is revolution, the overthrow of the whole frame of government. In Catalonia, on the other hand, the existing order, instead of being "broad-based upon the people's will," has only a minority in its favour, and rests upon military force, aided by the dissensions of the disaffected majority. One cannot but wonder what forms our own political life would assume if the party or parties of progress were a party or parties of open seditious.

And dotted everywhere — facing us at every turn — throughout this city of modern industrialism are monasteries, convents, religious houses of one sort or another, some humble and unpretending enough, but many of them vast and splendid. Some are devoted to education, others to works of charity; but none, it would seem, has succeeded in earning the respect, much less the love, of the working classes, who accuse the *frailes* of humiliating and exploiting the children they profess to teach and train. Exempt from taxation some of the religious houses compete in the production of certain commodities and this unfair competition is keenly resented by the people. Then the secrecy of the conventual life gives scope for strange imaginings as to what passes behind the impenetrable walls. At the present moment, in Barcelona, one of the books most prominently exposed on every kiosk is "*El Tormento en los Conventos*" by Fray Gerundio — no mere catchpenny, but a serious indictment. Behind and beneath all suspicions and resentments, however, there doubtless lies the feeling that this monastic host, with its hoarded wealth, is in active alliance with capitalism, militarism, and all the enemies of social justice, as it hovers before the exalted imagination of the Catalan workman. He sees in the congregations an ideal which he rejects with loathing, ensconced behind high-piled bastions of privilege. They are, in truth, almost entirely outside the law; and the populace in moments of revolt, is apt to pronounce — and execute — sentence of outlawry upon them.

Ferrer Abroad and at Home

We have now to trace the two currents of events, one private, the other public, which, flowing together at the fated hour, swept Francisco Ferrer to his destruction.

On April 21, 1909, Ferrer and Soledad Villafranca arrived in London. In a letter which he immediately sent to his intimate friend, Tarrida del Marmol, he said, "We are here for a time of rest." As a matter of fact, he devoted himself mainly to learning English, with a view to selecting some English books to be added to his educational library. He spent a good deal of time with an English

friend, William Heaford and his family, with Tarrida del Marmol, and the Kropotkins. On Labour Day, May 1, he went to Hyde Park, and heard Tarrida among others, speak at the International Platform, but took no active part in the proceedings. It is clear that he was more or less "shadowed" during his stay in London, but there is no evidence that he associated with any persons more dangerous than those mentioned. On June 9 he wrote from his Bloomsbury boarding-house to his friend Charles Albert at Paris, stating that his stay in London was indefinite, and indicating that it would in all probability outlast the month; but two days later he wrote to the same friend that his plans had been upset by bad news from his Spanish home. His sister-in-law and niece had been stricken down by typhoid, and he must hurry back to Mas Germinal. He spent one day in Paris (the 13th) and left for home on the morning of the 14th. On the 17th he wrote from Mas Germinal to Charles Laisant: "Here we are installed, finding our sister-in-law out of danger, but not so our niece, who remains in a very critical condition." Poor little Layeta, born to Jose Ferrer in far-off Bendigo, died on the 19th, aged eight years.

For what followed we may turn to a letter from Ferrer to William Heaford, written from the Carcel Celular of Barcelona less than a week before his trial:

..... There was I quietly at Mongat, from the middle of June, with my wife tending our poor sister-in-law, who was very much broken by her own illness and the loss of her daughter. I diverted my mind, and passed, I must own, some delightful moments, in reading the six English books I had brought with me from London. I think so well of them that I have resolved to have them translated into Spanish, and to publish them, of course after obtaining authorisation. All the six, I take it, are recommended by the *Instruction Morales Ligue*? I am not quite clear as to its name... Two in particular have charmed me — "Children's Magic Garden" by Alice...? and "Magic Garden's Childhood." [The books referred to are Miss Alice Chesterton's "Children's Magic Garden" and "Garden of Childhood"] They can be published in Spanish with the single suppression of a tale about Santa Claus which I did not consider good for the children. Then the 1st and 2nd series of Gould's "Morals Lecons" which are also very good, except where he speaks of Christ, very little, which I should simply suppress... Then come two volumes, intended for teachers, of which I do not quite recall the titles. "The Teacher's Handbook of Morals Lecons"? One is by Mr. Walldgrave? — admirable this one, and resting on a large philosophic basis. To be published without a single note. The other is by Mr. Reid, too English in its character, but fitted for publication with a good many editorial notes.

(Where are they now, these dear books, annotated by me and ready for translation — where are they after the searches and seizures at Mas Germinal? I trust I shall find them again some day.)

This letter is interesting, not only for its account of Ferrer's employments, but for the glimpse it gives into what may be called the puritanic, not to say pedantic, rationalism of his habit of thought. As his English was very imperfect, he would scarcely have much time left over from his editorial labours; but he went once a week to Barcelona (distant some eleven miles) to attend to his publishing business at 596 Calle Cortes. He was seeing

through the press "L'Homme et la Terre" by Reclus, and was making arrangements for the production of an illustrated translation of Kropotkin's history of "The Great Revolution."

It may be said that Ferrer's own retrospect of his occupations, written at a time when he knew that his neck was in danger cannot be accepted as evidence. Even the corroboration of his friends is subject to discount. But mark this! On July 7, many days before any human foresight could have anticipated the revolt, Ferrer wrote from Mas Germinal to Alfred Naquet:

..... I might tell you, too, of the comic surveillance to which I am subjected by the authorities at Barcelona, who every day send a *pareja de civiles* (pair of gendarmes) to take count of my comings and goings, and policemen who attend me to the station and accompany me wherever I go. But I attach no importance to this, accustomed as I am to it ever since my Madrid trial.

The fact that he was under surveillance was confirmed at his trial, so that a false account of his occupations could easily have been contradicted. As no such attempt was made, there is not the slightest reason to doubt that in his letter to Heaford, and several other letters to precisely the same effect, he was telling the simple truth.

So much for the stream of private events³ — perfectly smooth save for the death of little Layeta. We must now follow the converging and very agitated current of public affairs.

The Melilla Adventure

Certain mines in the Riff region of Morocco, some twenty miles from the Spanish settlement of Melilla, had for over a year been worked intermittently and "under precarious circumstances" by an inextricably complicated group of capitalists, mainly, but not exclusively, Spanish. A railway was in course of construction from Melilla to the mines; and on July 9, 1909 — nearly a month after Ferrer had left London for Barcelona — a body of Moors attacked the workmen engaged on the line and killed three or four Spanish subjects. The military governor of Melilla, General Marina, at once sallied forth to punish the marauders — and found himself in a hornets' nest. A few far-sighted politicians and military men professed to have foreseen some such development; but to the Spanish nation as a whole, the war came like thunder from a clear sky. It is absolutely grotesque to suppose that any foresight of this trouble⁴ can have had anything to do with Ferrer's return from London; yet the Chief of the Barcelona Police did not hesitate to make this suggestion to the Military Tribunal.

It was evident that reinforcements, and large reinforcements, were urgently needed in Melilla. Already on July 11, two days after the opening incident, a royal decree authorised the Minister of War to call out the reservists in such numbers as he should deem necessary. Regiments were hastily brought up to their full strength and hurried to the coast. It was natural that Barcelona should be one of the chief ports of embarkation; but had the Government understood its temper, they would at all costs have avoided using it for this purpose. From the 14th onward, transports left the harbour every day; and on Sunday the 18th the departure of a local battalion was accompanied by scenes of wild lamentation and protest. Similar outbreaks occurred at many other points throughout Spain. On the

20th the populace of Madrid attempted to prevent the entrainment of a regiment, and the Southern Station was the scene of a serious riot. Meanwhile Republicans, Socialists, Anarchists, and workmen's organisations of all sorts were everywhere trying to hold meetings of protest against the war, and the authorities were everywhere sitting on this safety-valve. The news from Melilla, as it filtered through the censorship, grew every day more ominous. Since it was evident that the truth was not being told, rumour set to work to correct official reticence with its usual fertility or lurid invention. The fact that the Cortes were not sitting left the Maura Cabinet the unchecked despots of Spain; and the fact that Senor Maura declined to summon the Cortes showed that this despotism was essential to the carrying through of this policy.

The Workmen and the War

In most countries the working class, on the outbreak of a war, are apt, for a time at least, to yield to the contagion of patriotic fervour, and shout themselves hoarse with war-cries and war-songs. Why was the sentiment of the Spanish working class so utterly different? The reasons are clear, and may be grouped under three heads. In the first place, the Anarchism which is dominant among Spanish operatives is essentially internationalist and pacifist doctrine. Its very name declares it anti-patriotic. It regards the flag without emotion, and considers the "national honour" a myth invented by the soldiers and priests who conspire with the capitalists in that process of exploitation which they call government. In this respect too, the views of the Socialists are practically identical with those of the Anarchists. Both parties accept the principle laid down at the Congress of Stuttgart: "Better insurrection than war." In the second place, this particular campaign had all the appearance of a war of sheer aggression undertaken at the dictation of a group of millionaires, closely allied with the Government, whose interests were inexpressibly indifferent to the Spanish workman. It was believed, too, rightly or wrongly, that many of the mining shares were held by, or for, the Jesuits. In the third place, — and it was this that brought the women in their thousands into the ranks of the protesters, — the incidence of military service was exasperatingly unjust. On the one hand, the son of the bourgeois, who could afford to pay three hundred dollars for exemption, need not join the army at all; on the other hand, most of the reservists now being called out were men who, after two years with the colours, had been permitted to return to civil life and to marry. They were now torn from their wives and families, to throw away their lives — as seemed only too probably — in an ill-omened war, undertaken for the enrichment of a few financiers. That was how the campaign represented itself to the popular mind, especially in Catalonia. What wonder if the women who crowded the wharves of Barcelona on Sunday the 18th cried to their sweethearts and husbands, as they marched through the throng: "Throw away your rifles! Don't embark! Let the rich men go! All or nobody!" Some kind Catholic ladies who boarded the transports, dressed in their Sunday finery, to distribute scapularies and other appropriate trifles to the soldiers, were shocked to see their benefactions thrown into the sea.

Another week passed — the 18th to the 25th — in much the same fashion. News

was suppressed, troops were mobilised and despatched. The *Times* correspondent telegraphed from Madrid on July 23 that the "nervousness" of the public had no effect on the Ministry, "whose policy was to pour troops into Melilla until the resistance of the tribes was broken." Reuter announced on the 25th that the Minister of the Interior had ordered provincial governors to seize any editions of newspapers that contained news of the war, or of the departure of troops, other than that officially communicated. Even the official communications failed to maintain any plausible air of cheerfulness.

On Friday, the 23rd there was to have been a general assembly of delegates of the *Solidaridad Obrera*, a federation of workingmen's societies of all shades of opinion, the Catalan counterpart of the French *Confederation Generale du Travail*. The Civil Governor, Don Angel Ossorio, decided to prohibit the meeting; and it was probably this prohibition which determined the outbreak. A Strike Committee of three was instantly formed, representing Socialists, Syndicalists (trades-unionists), and Anarchists; but the *Solidaridad Obrera*, as such, was not represented. Who these three men were is perfectly well known. I have had long talks with one of them. They scout the idea that it would ever have occurred to them to take Ferrer into their confidence. Each of the three had a lieutenant; each lieutenant was to communicate with four delegates; each delegate with four others, and so on. By this simple but effective means the call to a general strike for Monday the 26th spread through the manufacturing towns of Catalonia. It was nominally to be a pacific protest, lasting twenty-four hours only, against the Moroccan adventure. There were doubtless many who hoped and believed that it would not end there; but of actual organisation for anything further no one has discovered a trace. "In Barcelona," says Don Angel Ossorio, the Civil Governor before mentioned, "no one prepares a revolution for the simple reason that it is always prepared . . . Of conspiracy, of plan, of concerted action, of casting of parts, of recruitment, of payment, of distribution of arms, of issuing of orders, in preparation for the events of the 26th, I have not heard a single word."³

The Strike and the Revolt

I shall now give a rapid sketch of the course of events, leaving Ferrer, for the moment, entirely out of it.

In the early hours of Monday the 26th some workshops and factories resumed work as usual; but as soon as the news spread that the strike was actually taking effect, work was everywhere abandoned. In some cases the employers themselves ordered the workmen out, fearing to have their windows broken. Bands of women went from shop to shop and from office to office, demanding that they should close; and they seem to have met with no refusals. But — unfortunately, as it proved — there was one large body of workers which refused to stand in with the rest. Throughout the morning the electric cars ran as usual, and the servants of the company declined to quit their posts. Had they done so quietly, the day might have passed in peace, and work might have been resumed on the morrow. It was in stopping the tramway service that the first acts of violence took place. Cars were overturned and burnt; rails were torn up; and the police and gendarmes, in trying to protect the car service, came into frequent conflict with the crowd. There was a good deal of

shooting on both sides, and blood began to flow in several parts of the city. By three in the afternoon the street-car service had entirely ceased. Cabs, too, had been driven from the streets, and two at least of the railways connecting Barcelona with the outside world were put out of action. It was not till next day that the isolation of the city, whether by rail or wire, was rendered practically complete.

How, in the meantime, were the authorities employing themselves? They were undoubtedly in rather a tight place. The military garrison had been depleted by the war, but there remained eight hundred regular troops in Barcelona. Of policemen there were eight or nine hundred, and of gendarmes (*Guardias Civiles*, a fine body of men) about one thousand. These forces were certainly none too many to hold in check a rebellious populace of half a million, in a city covering forty square miles of ground. A considerable number had to be immobilised for the protection of arsenals, military stores, etc.; and the soldiers, as a whole, were not greatly to be relied upon, as the people insisted on cheering them wherever they appeared, and treating them as the victims of governmental oppression. Under the circumstances, the best policy would probably have been one of conciliation. The disturbance might have been treated as a more or less legitimate movement of protest, all measures being directed toward securing the peaceful resumption of work the next morning. If this policy ever occurred to anyone, it was negated by a telegram from the Minister of the Interior, Sr. La Cierva, urging that the strike must not be treated like an ordinary economic manifestation, but repressed with vigour, as a rebellion. At mid-day the Junta (a small body of officials) assembled, and, outvoting the Civil Governor, determined to declare the state of siege. Thereupon the Governor resigned in a pet, and absolute authority devolved upon the Captain General, Don Luis de Santiago y Manescáu. This officer signed a proclamation of the state of siege, which at four o'clock was placarded on all the walls. The opinion of the Junta had been that the proclamation would at once terrorise the people into quietude; but it had no such effect. Throughout the afternoon and evening there were constant skirmishes between the forces of order and the people. The proclamation declared that all "groups" formed in the streets would be broken up by force; and in carrying out this policy the authorities successfully embittered the popular irritation.

The Tragic Tuesday

When night fell on Monday, however, no very great harm had been done. It seems pretty clear that a little tact and conciliation might still have secured the resumption of work on the Tuesday morning; but, as a matter of fact, the authorities were hopelessly out of touch with the people. The morning of Tuesday the 27th passed by quietly enough; and, but for the absence of all wheel traffic, the non-appearance of the newspapers, and the constant patrolling of the streets, the city wore almost its normal aspect. It was not until after one o'clock on Tuesday that the actual revolt broke out. The movement had by this time quite got out of the hands of the Strike Committee. They had not, indeed, ordered the resumption of work, because, in the absence of telegraphic news, wild rumours and wild hopes were abroad as to the success of the revolution in other parts of Spain, and they wanted to await the development of events. But it was no order of the chiefs that led to the ultimate outbreak. It was partly the impatience of the

reservists, who preferred fighting in Barcelona to fighting in Africa. It was partly the fact that the official Radical-Republican leaders held aloof in dismay, and gave their partisans no lead at all. It was partly a rumour which got abroad that ten Catalan soldiers who had taken part in the scenes of Sunday the 18th had been led out and shot on their arrival in Melilla. But mainly, I suspect, the sudden effervescence of Tuesday afternoon was the inevitable result of prolonged nervous tension, lacking the safety valve of work. "Satan finds some mischief still for idle mobs to do."

Be this as it may, between one and three on Tuesday afternoon barricades sprang up in many streets and active fighting began on a quite different scale from that of the previous day — arms having been obtained by the looting of gun stores, pawn shops, and at least one armoury. Almost at the same time, first one great column of smoke, and then another, went up into the blue air.⁵ It was the splendid building of the *Padres Esculapios*, and the convent and church of the *Jerónimas*, that were burning. From that time onwards, for about sixty hours, anarchy reigned in Barcelona. The street fighting was incessant, save for a sort of truce in the early mornings; and almost every hour saw a fresh ecclesiastical building of one sort or another given to the flames. On the night of the 27th, from the surrounding hills, the spectacle of Barcelona dotted all over with conflagrations must have been at once superb and terrible. But there was no strategy in the fighting, no method in the convent burning. It was all desultory, planless, purposeless: an uncontrollable ebullition of rage and mischief. The authorities were still in telegraphic communication with Madrid by way of the Balearic Islands; and one line of railway had either not been cut or had been restored. Troops reached the city from distant parts of Spain, who were more to be trusted than local levies. Artillery was brought into play against the barricades. By Thursday evening the revolt had pretty well exhausted itself. Business began to be resumed on Friday, though conflicts still occurred in the streets in certain quarters. By Monday the city had resumed its normal aspect, and the "tragic week" was over. More than fifty ecclesiastical buildings — churches, colleges, convents, etc. — lay in ruins. The total death roll, however, was comparatively small. It is generally placed between sixty and seventy; but the Minister of the Interior, in the Cortes, stated it at one hundred and four. Apparently marksmanship was not the strong point of the combatants on either side; and the riders were very scantily armed. The losses among the soldiers and the police seem to have been absolutely insignificant — not more than four or five all told. The wounded on both sides were, of course, very much more numerous.

Why Convents Were Burnt

Many people have written and spoken as though some sinister mystery underlay the fact that the protest against the Melilla adventure took such a violently anti-clerical turn. There is really no mystery in the matter. For reasons above indicated, the religious houses were chronically and intensely unpopular. The clergy were supposed (and rightly) to be hand in glove with the militarists. A most unwise attempt had also been made in some quarters to represent the war in the light of a crusade of the Christian against the infidel — a piece of hypocrisy that deceived no one and irritated many. At a meeting of four thousand workmen held at Tarrasa, a manufacturing town in the immediate neighbourhood of Barcelona, a few days before the outbreak, a resolution was passed protesting against the

"sending to war of citizens productively employed and, as a rule, indifferent to the triumph of 'the Cross' over 'the Crescent,' when it would be easy to form regiments of priests and monks who, besides being directly interested in the success of the Catholic religion, have no family or home, and are of no utility to the country."

In view of such a resolution as this, we need scarcely look much further for the connecting link between anti-militarist and anti-clerical manifestations. But it happens that we know precisely whence the immediate suggestion of incendiarism proceeded. On Sunday the 25th, the day before the strike and two days before the revolt, Sr. Lerroux's newspaper, *El Progreso*, the most influential in Barcelona, contained an article, headed with the English word

!REMEMBER!

recalling the fact that that day was the anniversary of a great outburst of convent burning in 1835, and deploring that, in these degenerate times, there was no likelihood of its repetition! No one who has read this article can have the smallest doubt as to who lit the first torch. Ferrer, I may remark, was at this time on bad terms with the Republicans and their organ, *El Progreso*. Not the slightest attempt has been made to connect him with the (literally) incendiary article. Yet he is in his grave, while the responsible editor of *El Progreso*, Don Emiliano Iglesias, is in the Cortes.

No Massacre and No Sack

As to the constitution and behaviour of the convent burning mobs, there is an almost ludicrous conflict of evidence, or rather of assertion. The clericals try to make them out worse than fiends, the anti-clericals depict them as almost angelic in their chivalry and humanity. On August 4 the *Correspondencia* of Madrid published a communication from its Barcelona correspondent in which he declared that, on the night of July 27th, "mad drunk with blood, wine, lust dynamite, and petroleum, with no other desire than to kill for killing's sake," the rebels destroyed the convents and massacred their inmates.

"Who can tell the number of dead, wounded, and burnt who are buried beneath the ruins? . . . Spare me the recital of the details of the martyrdom of the monks, of the ill treatment of the nuns, of the brutal way in which they were sacrificed. . . I can only say that many died at the foot of the altar, stabbed by a thousand women; that others were torn to pieces, their limbs being carried about on poles; that not a few were tortured to death; and that all passed to another life with the crown of martyrdom."

This is a fair specimen of history as it was written on the days immediately succeeding the outbreak; and, though everyone now admits that it is delirious nonsense, the clerical party, while abandoning the details, still writes as though the general picture were a true one. As a matter of fact, the hetacomb of martyrs reduces itself, even by Catholic computation, to four: two priests shot, one suffocated in the cellar of his burning church, and one nun brutally killed. For the last outrage the evidence seems to be very insufficient; for the death of the three priests, and the mutilation of the body of one of them, the evidence is pretty strong. It is absurd, then, to pretend, as some people do, that the mob was absolutely seraphic in its ardour; but it is certainly very remarkable that, in such a wild outbreak, murder, and even fatal accident, should have been so infrequent. There is abund-

ance of evidence, from the mouths of priests and nuns themselves, that the general temper of the mob was not in the least homicidal, and that they took pains to have the buildings cleared of their inmates before setting fire to them. Even so, no doubt it was sufficiently alarming and distressing for hundreds of religious ladies to be forced to quit their sanctuaries at a moment's notice, and see them delivered to the flames. It is with no view of defending the conduct of the rabble that I insist upon the essential difference between burning an empty convent and burning it over the heads of its inmates.

But, if the revolt was far from being a massacre, at least, say some, it was a scene of unbridled rapine. On this point, too, the opposing parties take up violently contradictory positions. It would be ridiculous to suppose that in a great city like Barcelona, not noted at any time as a home of all the virtues, the destruction of half a hundred rich ecclesiastical buildings should be wholly unaccompanied by robbery. There is no reason to doubt that the dregs of the populace, the camp followers of the revolt, committed many depredations. But there is clear evidence that robbery was not the motive of the main body of incendiaries. They were bent on destruction, not on theft. They made bonfires, not only of objects of sanctity, but of objects of value. No bank was attacked; no store, other than gun stores; not one of many splendid houses of the commercial magnates of Barcelona. The word "sack" is no more justly applicable to the events than the word "massacre"

The Mob and the Mummies

But while the mob, as a whole, was neither murderous nor rapacious, it was blind and superstitious in its rage against all things associated with religion. Its deeds show no trace of any rational leadership. It did not, for instance, single out for destruction those institutions which competed unfairly in confectionery, laundry work, or other industries. The great majority of the buildings destroyed lay under no such suspicion. Some were inoffensive houses of retreat; not a few were charitable institutions for the benefit of the working classes themselves. One (I am credibly assured) was a crèche or day nursery for infants, which is now sadly missed. But, while this proves the lack of reason in the crowd, it also proves the failure of these charitable institutions to establish themselves in popular esteem. Priests and nuns engaged in education complain bitterly that the parents of some of their pupils, and even the pupils themselves, were prominent among the rioters — a fact that may clearly be interpreted in more ways than one. But the main allegation against the mob — now that the charge of massacre proves to be unfounded — is that they desecrated tombs and paraded the streets with the embalmed bodies of religious ladies. The fact is undoubted. In more than one convent the niches of the crypts were broken into and bodies dragged to light, to the total number, it is said, of about thirty five. But it is no less certain that the motive of this profanation was a desire to ascertain whether there was any sign of the nuns having been tortured, or even buried alive. It was found, as a matter of fact, that many of the bodies had their hands and feet bound together; and, though this is susceptible of a quite innocent explanation, it was not unnaturally taken as first confirming the most sinister rumours. To the Anglo-Saxon mind it would seem that when a community walls itself in from the world, and admits no intervention of the law, no public inspection of its practices, whether in life or death, it should not complain if suspicions arise as to the nature

of these practices. The alleged design of the rioters was to take the bodies to the *ayuntamiento*, or town hall, that their condition might be publicly verified. Few, if any, of them seem to have reached that destination; but, with sharp fighting going on in the barricaded streets, this was scarcely surprising.

I am inclined to believe that the mob, in its summary researches, discovered no good evidence of torture or other malpractices in the religious houses. A so-called "roasting bed" in the Magdalen Convent — a bed of sheet iron screwed down to the floor, under which it was said that gas jets could be lighted — was examined by Mr. Henry Nevison of the London *Daily News*, who satisfied himself that the gas apparatus was imaginary, and that, in all probability, the bed was intended for insane patients, who might have used loose iron slats to do an injury to themselves or others. Similarly, a "coining apparatus" found in one of these monasteries was probably a machine for striking schoolboys' medals. It was, of course, said that materials for the making of bombs had been discovered; but I do not know that any serious attempt has been made to substantiate this charge. There is more evidence for the assertion that some of the *hombres de los terrados* — mysterious persons who devoted themselves to "sniping" from the housetops — were, in fact, clerics who desired to enrage the troops against the townspeople. But, even if it be true that one or two mischievous fanatics were caught at this game, it would be unfair to make the Catholic Church responsible for them. The clerical no less than the anti-clerical host would naturally have its fringe of malefactors.

What Ferrer Was Doing

It is now time to return to Ferrer, whom we left living peaceably at Mas Germinal and smiling at the spies who were set to watch his movements. On July 22 — just four days after the Sunday that witnessed the first scene of protest against the war and four days before the Monday of the general strike — he wrote a letter to Miguel Moreno, formerly a teacher in the Escuela Moderna, who desired to discuss with him the possible foundation of a farm school. Here is the letter in full (I have seen the original):

Mongat, 22/7, 1909.

Friend Moreno:

I have so many things to arrange and put in order here at Mongat that I intend to go very little to Barcelona until I have finished.

In order to see me, the best plan would be for you to come here on some holiday afternoon. But, if that does not suit you, I would come to Barcelona on Sunday morning, by a train that arrives at nine. In that case let me know beforehand and meet me at the station.

I repeat that I am your affectionate
FERRER.

We have recently lost a niece eight years old, to our no small sorrow, as you may suppose.

Here we find "the author and chief of the rebellion," four days before its outbreak, not even mentioning public affairs, or expressing a wish to avoid coming to Barcelona. Moreno, however, in his reply, suggested a meeting at the station, not for Sunday, but for Monday morning; and to this Ferrer agreed. We may be absolutely sure that he did not visit Barcelona in the interval; for if he had done so, the police spies would have reported the fact, and the prosecution would not have failed to make much of it. But perhaps all the time he was plotting the revolt by correspondence? No one who has any experience of the Spanish post office will believe this possible.

We must remember, too, that immediately after the "tragic week" the police made hundreds, if not thousands, of domiciliary visits without discovering a single letter of Ferrer's inciting to, or in any way bearing upon the disturbances. The prosecution, in short, though it admitted that Ferrer was under close surveillance, did not even attempt to bring home to him a single act of preparation or organisation during the critical days before the outbreak. What could a jury have thought of this omission?

Well, on the morning of the fateful 26th Ferrer betook himself to Barcelona, and Moreno met him, as arranged, at the Estacion de Francia. Here it was that the two streams of private and public events definitely flowed together. Moreno was, in fact, one of the most actively concerned in the organisation of the strike. He naturally told Ferrer what was afoot; and he strongly asserts that this was the first Ferrer had heard of it.

"What did he say?" I asked.

"He said," Moreno replied, "that if it was a serious movement that was going to lead anything, it had all his sympathy; but if it was to be a mere flash in the pan, he regretted it."

On parting from Moreno, Ferrer, according to his own account (confirmed by his employees and by independent witnesses), proceeded to his publishing office in the Calle Cortes. He had not been long there when a band of women appeared, demanding that the office should be closed. He at once agreed, and only a side door was left open. Then he went out to procure samples of paper for his projected edition of Kropotkin's "Great Revolution," after having instructed his secretary, Cristobal Litran, to arrange with an engraver to meet him at the office at four in the afternoon, with reference to the illustrations for the same work. He lunched alone at the Maison Doree, a well known restaurant in the Plaza de Catalunya. At four he kept the appointment with the engraver at his office, and asked the office messenger, a youth named Meseguer, to carry to the station for him a cardboard box "containing a dress for his wife." This the young man did, preceding Ferrer to the station; but when Ferrer arrived, in time for the six o'clock train, behold! he found a notice stating that the line was cut and no trains running. Meseguer, seeing that he was much put out by this, offered to walk to Mongat and to tell his family that all was well with him. He at first demurred, saying that it was too far to walk; but the lad insisted, and Ferrer at last accepted his offer. Then he went and dined at the Hotel Internacional on the Ramblas, spent the evening with friends at a cafe, and at last, soon after midnight, set forth to walk home, arriving at Mas Germinal at about five in the morning.⁷

But here it must be said that, although Ferrer told nothing but the truth as to his employments on the 26th, he did not tell the whole truth. For instance, he said nothing of his meeting with Moreno; and we shall see later that there were several other incidents on which he was silent. The reader shall judge for himself as to whether these incidents in any way told against him. Assuming, in the meantime, that they did not, we may ask what was the reason for his silence? The answer is pretty obvious: he was extremely careful not to compromise any of his friends. His deposition was taken while he was in solitary confinement, absolutely ignorant as to who might or might not be in the hands of the police, and knowing only that a bitter campaign of vengeance was in full swing. Moreno, as a matter of fact had escaped; but it would have been a clear disloyalty on Ferrer's part to allude to his share in

the disturbances. Even people whom Ferrer knew to have taken no part in the events might have been made to suffer for the mere fact of his naming them. We see that he did not even give the name of the messenger who carried the dress-box to the station for him.

Ferrer Disappears

At Mas Germinal — according to Ferrer's account and that of his family — he remained throughout Tuesday the 27th. Whether this be true or not is a crucial point in the case which we shall discuss in due time. On Wednesday the 28th, at about eleven in the morning, all parties agree that he went (as was his custom every Wednesday and Saturday) to a barber's shop, in the neighbouring village of Masnou; to be shaved. Thence he proceeded, a distance of some two miles, to the village of Premià de Mar, where he remained about a quarter of an hour; and then he returned to Mas Germinal, having been absent, in all, between two and three hours. There is no dispute as to these bare facts; but the question of what he said to the persons whom he met at Masnou and Premià is another — or rather the other crucial point in the case. On Thursday the 29th one of the household at Mas Germinal returned from Alella in great excitement, reporting that she had heard a young woman declare that she had, with her own eyes; seen Ferrer at the head of a band of incendiaries burning a convent at Premià — where, in fact, no convent had been burnt. This was the first whisper of the legend connecting Ferrer with the revolt, which was soon to swell to such huge proportions.⁸ He was at first inclined merely to laugh at it; but, at the entreaty of Mme. Villafranca, he finally agreed to go into hiding until a calmer frame of mind should prevail. He had no wish to undergo another year's imprisonment, if he could help it.

As to the place and manner of his concealment, I know more than I am even now at liberty to tell. For more than a fortnight his disappearance was so complete that he was generally believed to have escaped to France — a belief in which the authorities fully shared. Early in August his publishing office was visited and searched, and his secretary, Litran, arrested, but set at liberty after a two hours' examination. On either the 11th or 12th of the month⁹ twenty one policemen and gendarmes presented themselves at Mas Germinal and spent twelve hours ransacking the house for incriminating documents, without finding anything of the slightest importance. "Before Ferrer left," says Mme. Villafranca, "he and I had been careful to make a great clearance of papers. Not that there was anything that could justly be called compromising; but we knew how the police would try to twist everything, not only to his disadvantage, but to that of his correspondents." The search party, however, carried off a collection of three hundred letters from Ferrer to his brother Jose — a "find" that must have proved disappointing, as we hear no more about it.

The Banishment to Teruel

On the 16th of August Ferrer ought to have transacted certain financial business with a bank in Barcelona, on pain of forfeiture of some valuable securities. On that day Mme. Villafranca saw his agent in Barcelona, and received from him a paper for Ferrer's signature. A romantic story is told of the way in which the signature was obtained. It is largely fictitious, and need not detain us. The essential point is that three days later, on August 19, the paper signed, was handed to Jose Ferrer in the market place in Barcelona, and by him delivered to the bank. Evidently the authorities had instant notice

of this fact, which proved that Ferrer was not far off. Their next move was made no later than the following day, and was a pretty sweeping one.

It must be explained that a favourite method of dealing with any condition of unrest in Spain is to "suspend the constitutional guarantees," and so leave the liberty of the subject entirely at the mercy of the bureaucracy. The constitutional guarantees had been suspended by royal decree, in the three Catalan provinces, as early as the 28th of July. Therefore the new Governor of Barcelona, Don Crespo Azorin, was within his rights when he ordered the instant deportation of Soledad Villafranca and her brother, Jose Ferrer and his wife and child, and the whole staff of Ferrer's publishing house, including the aged and infirm Anslemo Lorenzo with his wife and daughters — fourteen or fifteen persons in all. Here is the warrant under which the operation was effected:

In virtue of the powers conferred on me by Article 9 of the Law of Public Order, now in force by reason of the suspension of constitutional guarantees, I decree your banishment [*destierro*], and that of your family, to a distance of more than 245 and less than 250 kilometers¹⁰ from the city of Barcelona. You are to be immediately conducted, under the surveillance of the public forces, to the limit of the radius of 245 kilometers. God preserve you many years! Barcelona, 19 August, 1909.

CRESPO AZORIN

Jose Ferrer was not even allowed to send for his son, who happened to be away bathing, when the "public forces" arrived at Mas Germinal. The whole party, not one of them charged with the smallest illegality, was hurried off, first to Alcaniz, and afterward to Teruel, the capital of Aragon. They had to find food and lodging at their own expense, and were, as a matter of fact, on the verge of starvation. They were constantly watched by the police and gendarmes, who built a temporary guard house in front of their place of abode. No one was allowed to visit them or communicate with them, except in the presence of the police. Their correspondence was tampered with, and they were subjected to every sort of annoyance and humiliation. For a week Jose Ferrer, his wife, and Soledad Villafranca were actually put in prison, on no charge and for no discoverable reason; then they were released again, equally without reason. The immediate motive of the "banishment" was no doubt to drive Ferrer from his concealment by cutting him off from communication with his friends; but afterward, as we shall see, it proved extremely convenient to have everyone who could give evidence in his favour safely removed to a distance of not less than 245 kilometers. The "banishment" lasted eighty seven days.

Having thus happily disposed of the occupants of the Mas Germinal, the authorities made several descents on the house, in further search for incriminating documents. On one occasion, about August 27, ten policemen and gendarmes took possession of the farm house for three days and two nights, broke open the floors and the walls, cut the drain pipes, emptied the cisterns, and left the place in a wreck.¹¹ It is quite evident that, under such conditions, the requirement of the law that search shall always be conducted in the presence of representatives of the accused or of responsible and impartial witnesses could not possibly be fulfilled. The only occupant of the house was Mme. Villafranca's mother; and it can scarcely be conceived that she kept sleepless watch on her ten visitors for sixty hours. There is not the slightest reason to presume the genuineness of any document purporting to have been found on this occasion (continued on page 70)



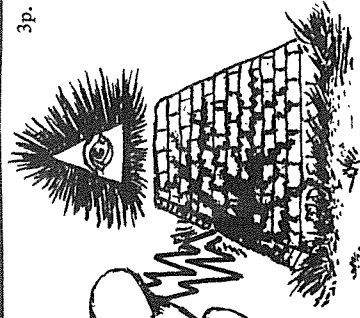
Weather
Changeable

Thought for Today
If Voting Could Change the System
It Would Be Against the Law!

Serving Anarchism from the North

(Pub. H. Celine & "The Eat the Rich Gang")

THE THUNDER



EASTER CANCELLED CHRIST'S BODY FOUND

Workers revolt as anarchy sweeps world

JERUSALEM — UPI — The Christian Faith lies in ruins today as the central myth of the world-wide religion — the Resurrection of Christ — was shattered by the discovery of a 2,000 year old corpse and its positive identification as that of Jesus of Nazareth.

Western civilisation has been rocked to its core by the revelation and although reports from Rome remain sketchy, several startling announcements have been made from the Vatican. At 3.00 pm Rome time the papal secretary announced the official cancelling of the Easter holiday. "After all," said Monsignor Luigi Pasta, "if you don't have a Resurrection and Ascension, you don't have much of an Easter, do you?"

Pasta also stated that the Pope and the College of Cardinals had resigned and that the Vatican's remaining skeleton staff was going about the dismantling of the Catholic Church.

Earlier in the day when mobs of disillusioned Christians stormed the Vatican they found the Pope's apartment bare with the exception of an airline receipt for two tickets to Argentina. Throughout the rest of Europe and North America, revolutionary mobs have toppled government after government claiming that political states and religious beliefs had robbed them of their human potential. (See story this page.)

The discovery that toppled Christianity began just two days



Religion collapses as western world shaken

WASHINGTON, D.C., LONDON, PARIS, BERLIN, MADRID, MOSCOW, WARSAW — UPI, AP — The future of governments, capitalist and socialist, remains in doubt today as waves of anti-authoritarian rebellion reverberate across Europe and North America.

Falling like dominoes in the wake of the news that Christianity was based on fraud, nine European governments have been toppled in the last 18 hours. In Latin America and the United States uprisings in the major cities put the forces of tradition in grave jeopardy at this moment of writing. In every major European city, councils of armed workers have proclaimed the end of all authority of one group or class over another. In the West, cries of "Down with capitalism," rang through the streets of Paris and London. In Prague and Moscow, hundreds of thousands marched for the first time shouting "No More Bureaucrats." In every city pledges to end wage labour, commodity production and the factory system brought joyous dancing in the streets as main intersections became the scenes of festive celebrations. How the wave of anti-Christian feeling rapidly developed into stronger anti-political sentiment was expressed by a Belgian office worker, "They had our minds mucked up with all that God and Jesus shit. We thought they were everything and we were nothing," he said. "When that

of an apartment complex kidnappers' unmet conspiracy.

Digging by candle-light in the early morning hours, he noticed a sandal-clad foot protruding from a drainage ditch and, digging further, Bournemouth unearthed the cadaver's head still bearing the legendary Crown of Thorns.

Bournemouth told UPI, "It's nothing to me, I'm a Moslem, but I thought others would like to know."

The anger of many ex-Christians stemmed from the obvious attempts of the Pope and others first to deny and then downplay the discovery. Even after medical, archeological, religious and historical experts had confirmed the half-decomposed corpse was that of Jesus, Pope Paul had insisted that to announce the bitter truth would be to bring havoc to the Christian world. Word finally leaked out from one of the panel of experts and the Vatican was forced to make the announcement admitting that the central tenet of their religion, the redemption of sin through the sacrifice of Christ, in their words, "was inoperative."

Worse yet was the report filed by Dr. Vera Similitude, of the United Nations medical team, who was one of the first to examine the body from a medical standpoint. In it she stated that Christ had not died from wounds inflicted by Roman Centurions, as reported in the Christian Bible, but rather had died from complications of an advanced stage of syphilis.

Speculation is high among informed sources that the entire New Testament was simply faked after the natural death of Jesus, who was one of the many Hebrew religious fanatics preaching in Palestine during that period.

The truth concerning what took place between the time Pope Paul was informed of the devastating discovery in the Middle East at 4 am Rome time and the time he finally relented and made the information public may never be known, but ash-faced Romans arriving at St. Peter's in the early morning hours were greeted by a sight they will long remember: the historic shrine of the Catholics everywhere and the base of Christian faith was boarded up and 'for sale' signs from an Argentine realtor dotted the huge plaza.

But as a small band of black-garbed, elderly Italians hopelessly said their rosaries in the muted night, radical Italians took other action. Forming a loose coalition of leftists, atheists and cynical ex-Christians, they broke down the sealed doors of the Vatican and rushed into the former seat of Catholic power. Untold millions of dollars worth of art objects and precious metals were literally stripped from the walls in what must have been one of the fastest turnarounds in the otherwise quiet career of Pope Paul. So sudden was the departure that early arrivals at the once sumptuous residence report a projector in the cinema room still running, endlessly repeating "King of Kings."

Coming on the eve of Christianity's holiest occasion, Easter, this betrayal by Vatican City has spurred repercussions unheard of in modern-day society. Howling mobs of Catholics stormed their churches in city after city only to find 'for sale' signs and announcements of car washes to be built on the sites of their former houses of prayer. As one Roman businessman put it, "This is a Watergate that dwarfs any other cover-up in the history of mankind."

That the "Jesus Christ Cover-up," as it is now being called in European capitals, is the most pervasive ever known goes without saying. Informed sources in the Vatican report that when the crowds broke through to the inner chambers of St. Peter's radical groups were carting off literally tons of (cont. on p. 123)

Fatima myth exposed

LISBON — UPI — OUR LADY OF FATIMA, one of the most renowned shrines of Catholicism, was revealed yesterday to be a gigantic hoax.

Spokesman for the Anarchist Black Cross, an international anarchist group, which seized official records after the fall of Portugal's government today, said the Fatima hoax was perpetrated by the Portuguese government and the Church in 1906, after church attendance in the small town had dropped below 2 percent of the population.

The religious legend has it that the "Virgin Mary" appeared before three Portuguese children in the little town of Fatima just after the turn of the century. On one of these visits, she is reported to have given them a prophecy in a sealed envelope. On that visit, she, or someone looking like her, went to the townspeople to show them the power of faith. So awed were they by the sight that they built a shrine to her memory.

A crude candle-powered projector with a hand-tinted slide showing Mary floating on a cloud was found yesterday in a cellar in Lisbon, raising anger at the Church to a new high. So great was the parishioners' rage at being tricked that it is reported there is not one religious object left in all Portugal. Crucifixes are being used for paint-stirrers in Oporto. Novena candles have been reported being used as (cont. on p. 123)

Treasures found

ROME — AP — What was originally thought to be merely a construction site containing the body of Jesus Christ has now been found to also contain valuable relics, according to Tel Aviv's leading archeologist, Dr. Irving Smith.

Next to the body of the "Saviour of Mankind" was found a journal, believed to have been written by Christ's own hand, which gives the world new information concerning his "lost years." These were the years between 12 and 25 when his exact whereabouts were completely unknown. Sample passages indicate some of the heretofore unspectacular places where Jesus lived during his middle years. For instance, a passage in the first part of the journal indicates some knowledge of downtown Baghdad. It reads, "Yea, verily doth I tread passageways and hidden halls of the temples of pleasure, so too doth the fallen women follow in my footsteps out of Bhazghadian (Baghdad) to my camp where we held lectures late into the night."

Further on is a description of an Egyptian banquet where Christ beseeches the noble men, "So I say unto you, what good does it do a man to gain all the wealth of the world only to lose his soul? Thou must strip thyself of all worldly goods in order to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. For that purpose I have brought two chariots which thou can begin filling with thine unwanted luxuries."

Papal fleet repelled

PAGO, PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA — AP — Much like the legendary man without a country, the papal fleet of Boeing 747's carrying the Vatican's major domo's wander the globe searching for a place to call home. Refused landing clearance by the Pago-Pago islanders last night, the total number of countries to refuse them permission to land now stands at over 103.

Coming on the heels of a stunning aerial defeat at the hands of the Wake Islanders, flying vintage WWII Japanese Zeroes, this was, as one observer called it, "like condemning them to Purgatory." An informed source, on hand when the Pope received word of the defeat, reported that the Pontiff took it extremely well. "What you gonna do?" The Pope said philosophically, "I know I'm no Walt Disney in the hearts of the people but I was only trying to make a buck. Sure, once in a while I pulled their leg but it was all in good fun. We should let bygones be bygones."

before, but the examples of our brothers and sisters in the West just set the example for us. Now we can set up real communism and get rid of all the "marxist" politicians."

Germany today is a place where no priest is safe from the diatribes of angered citizens. Portugal has become a no-mans land where nuns are run out of town like so many beggars. To no one's memory, even those weaned on World War II, has there been anything to match the scorn and bitterness the average citizen feels towards those in power.

Political leaders of the surviving nations are barricaded at this hour in a Swiss chalet, hurriedly mapping out plans for a last stand on the European continent. Men who once held such high positions as Prime Minister of England and Chancellor of Germany were seen being smuggled into the highly-guarded chalet by horse-cart.

Anti-religious rebels, intoxicated by the unprecedented collapse of organized religion, have seized power in many areas. Rail and communication lines in most of the U.S. are said to be in the hands of atheists. A first hand report by fleeing nuns in France indicates that local villagers have reacted to the news from Vatican City by seizing the churches and burning them.

Crowds estimated at over 500,000 swept through downtown Madrid today shouting revolutionary slogans and holding anti-religious demonstrations. In one instance, throngs were seen pulling a makeshift trailer with a replica of a crude outhouse containing statues of Franco and Pope Paul IV.

World stock market crashes

GENEVA — UPI — World stock market prices plummeted day as billions in discounted stocks and securities found their way into an already shaky Eurodollar market.

The sudden abdication of the entire hierarchy of the Christian world had brought about an extremely volatile financial situation in a sensitive world capital market already wracked by double digit inflation and growing world wide workers' revolutions.

When reports from Berne and Geneva indicated that huge amounts of blue chip stocks were being sold in random lots yesterday, speculation had it that the Middle East was ready to explode into war and the Sheiks were attempting to create havoc in the world money markets, particularly those in Europe.

The truth unfolded in the late evening when developments from Rome showed that the entire financial empire of the Holy Roman Catholic Church was being liquidated by unknown Lebanese brokers.

As one New York banker put it, "Sure we knew the Pope had a few bucks to throw around, but we had no idea it was this much."

Truly, an unprecedented amount of (cont. on p. 123)

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The Capture

On August 17 Commandant Vicente Llivina, charged with the duty of preparing the case against the "instigators, organisers, and directors" of the revolt, had issued an advertisement calling upon Ferrer to appear before him; and Ferrer asserted that he thought of obeying the summons, but was persuaded not to do so. On August 29, however, he read in the papers (according to his own account¹²) that the Fiscal (prosecutor) of the Supreme Court, after a visit to Barcelona to investigate the disturbance, had declared, on his return to Madrid, that he, Ferrer, was "the organiser of the revolutionary movement in Barcelona and in the villages on the coast."

Then [he proceeded] I could not restrain myself any longer, and, in spite of the advice of my

friends, I resolved to present myself to the authorities and at last protest against such rumours and such affirmations, from however high a source they might proceed.

He left his hiding place on the night of August 31, intending to walk some seven miles in order to take the inland railway line to Barcelona, his reason being that he was unknown on this line and therefore had a better chance of reaching Barcelona in freedom. His route, however, took him through his native village of Alella; and just outside it he was stopped by the village *somaten* (a sort of local vigilante committee), recognised, and arrested. After many indignities at the hands of his captors, he was taken, not to the examining commandant, as he requested, but to the Civil Governor, and after a brief examination was consigned to the Celuñir Prison.

Can we accept Ferrer's own account of these incidents, and believe that he intended to give himself up? That must depend entirely on our view of his character. In favour of his statement we have the fact that he certainly expressed this intention to the friends who had harboured him, and whom he had no motive in deceiving. We may also remember that when he was "wanted" after the Morral outrage, he voluntarily presented himself to the police. Against this we have to put the undeniable fact that the inland line "on which he was not known" would have carried him to France as readily as to Barcelona. But, knowing that the hue and cry was out after him, would he be likely to take the risk of attempting to cross the frontier? On the whole, the weight of probability seems to be in favour of his statement; but the matter is not susceptible of proof.

the trial and death of FERRER

BY WILLIAM ARCHER PART 2

Ferrer was captured: how was he to be tried? On that everything depended.

A leading Catholic paper, *El Universo*, in an article published immediately before the capture, manifested grave apprehensions lest he should once more, as in the Madrid trial of 1907, slip through the fingers of a civil tribunal. These civil tribunals, it remarked, were in the habit of "insisting on clear, precise, and decisive proofs of guilt"; and it pointed out the superior convenience of military and naval Courts of Honour, which "need not subject themselves to concrete proofs, but are satisfied with a moral conviction, formed in the conscience of those who compose them."

The alarm of *El Universo* was groundless. It had apparently forgotten the *Ley de Jurisdicciones* (Law of Jurisdictions), passed a few years ago by a Liberal ministry, with the aid and countenance of the Conservatives. Under this remarkable act, every offence that concerns the army, the fatherland, or the flag is to be tried by a military court and under military law. That is to say, one of the parties in the case is to sit on the bench and try the other party. If I am rightly informed, the law was specially designed to enable the army to chastise promptly and effectually the audacity of certain journalists who had attacked it. But it was very easy to make the riots a "military rebellion" and to bring everything connected with them under the Law of Jurisdictions. Nor can it be said that this was a straining of the law. As the whole trouble had grown out of the system of conscription and the calling out of the reservists, it certainly was a matter "concerning the army." There was no illegality then in handing Ferrer over to military justice.

What is the procedure of a Spanish military tribunal? The rules that govern it are set forth (not quite fully or frankly, however) in the appendix to the official version of the Ferrer trial ("Process," p. 67).

The *Juicio Ordinario* is called "ordinary" in contradistinction to the *Juicio Sumarísimo*, or drumhead court martial, which disposes of you, with the least possible ceremony. The "Ordinary Process" falls into three parts – the *Sumario*, *Plenario*, and *Vista Pública*. For the first two terms I do not think there is any English equivalent. The *Sumario* is practically what the French call the *instruction* – the private examination of the prisoner and of witnesses by the *juge d'instruction*, or examining magistrate – of course in this case a soldier. The first rule of the *Sumario* has certainly much to commend it:

Before proceedings can be directed against a person there must appear some charge against him [Article 421].

The only other rule that calls for special notice is this: "Domiciliary searches must be conducted in the presence of those interested, or of a member of the family, or of two witnesses [Article 511]." We have seen how this rule was observed at Mas Germinal.

When we come to the second stage of the process, the first rule that meets us is as follows: "The *Plenario* is public [Article 540]." If this means anything, it means that there is a public session of some sort; and we find that, at the *Plenario* of another case, an audience was present, for a statement attributed to one of the witnesses called forth "great laughter among the public." But in the case of Ferrer I cannot discover that any public session was ever held before the final *Vista Pública*. The second rule is: "The accused himself names his Defender [Article 453]." but it is not mentioned that he is required to choose his Defender from a list of officers which is handed to him. Note, too, that during the *Sumario*, while the evidence is being taken, he has no Defender or adviser of any sort. In the *Plenario* he may demand, and the examining commandant may, at his discretion, permit, a "ratification of

the witnesses," which I take to imply a re-examination; but there seems to have been nothing of the sort in Ferrer's case. The Defender, it would appear, never saw a single witness, much less had any opportunity for cross-examination. Ferrer himself, during the period of the *Sumario*, was "confronted" with four of the witnesses, – four out of fifty or sixty, – but the proceedings were confined to affirmation on their part and denial, on his. Of anything like cross-examination there is no trace. Ferrer had, very likely, no skill in that peculiar art; and had he possessed skill, there is nothing to show that he would have been allowed to exercise it.

We proceed now to the *Vista Pública* – the public trial. The court is a "council of war," composed of a colonel (the President) and six captains. They are assisted by an Assessor – an officer who is supposed to be at the same time something of a lawyer. First the report, or *dossier*, of the examining commandant (*juge d'instruction*) is read; then come

The examination by the Fiscal, Assessor, Defenders, President, and members of the Council, of witnesses and experts, and recognition of objects and documents; the accusation and the defence are read; . . . and, lastly, the accused speaks to set forth whatever he may consider opportune.

So runs the order of procedure, as officially stated; and in practice there was only one detail omitted – the examination of witnesses. With this trifling exception, all went according to rule. The portfolio of evidence was read; the Fiscal (prosecutor) read his commentary on the evidence, and demanded the conviction of the accused; the Defender read his reply, which he had been allowed only twenty-four hours to prepare; and, finally, the accused said a few words. Then (strictly according to rule) the court met in secret

session, and the Assessor read his report, which was, in fact, another speech for the prosecution, unchecked by the presence of the accused or his Defender. The court (still in secret) passed its sentence, which was forwarded for approval to the Captain-General of Catalonia, accompanied by the report of an officer termed the Auditor a third indictment in which all sorts of fresh matter is introduced. It is these three indictments that the Government publishes under the title of "Ordinary Process. . . Against Francisco Ferrer." The speech for the defence is tactfully omitted.

Having noted the structure of the machine in which Ferrer was caught, let us now try to follow its workings. Up to the opening of the actual trial (Vista Publica), the letters of Ferrer himself are our chief authority; but no attempt has been made to contradict his statements as to the way in which he was treated.

Ferrer in Prison

After his brief interview with the Governor, he was passed on to the central police station, and there stripped and subjected to the Bertillon system of measurements, etc. This done, not a single stitch of his clothing was returned to him, but he was rigged out from head to foot in "reach me down" garments ridiculously too small for him, with what he calls an "apache" cap. The underlings among his jailers were themselves surprised at this unexampled proceeding. He remonstrated against it in vain, and made public protest at his trial. Can we believe that the authorities deliberately sought to prejudice him by making him look grotesque? It is almost incredible; and yet, what else can have been their motive? It was not economy, for the manoeuvre cost the Treasury (by Ferrer's own estimate) at least fourteen francs. He went to his death in a fourteen franc suit.

Arrived at the Carcel Celular, he was not only *incomunicado* (that is to say, placed in secret confinement), but he was assigned a cell — he, an untried man — of the type devoted to *rigoroso castigo*, or rigorous punishment. This is his description of it, in a letter to his friend Heaford:

They put me in a repugnant cell, fetid, cold, damp, without air or light, in the underground region of the prison, where so rotten an atmosphere prevails that in descending to it you can't help turning your head away. In this cell (8 feet by 13) there is a plank bed, a palliasse, a counterpane, and a sheet — all filthy, disgusting. A pan for refuse and a jar of drinking water. Impossible to sleep on account of the cold and the little animals of all sorts which swarmed, and which, on the first night, attacked me at every point, I took the precaution afterwards of leaving crumbs of bread in the four corners, so that the beetles left me in peace; not so the other beasts. For food, soup twice a day, always the same, made with chick-peas (*garbanzos*) in the morning, and with haricots in the evening, served in such darkness that it was very difficult to pick out the lumps of rancid bacon which almost made me feel sick. It needed a good stomach like mine to resist this, and a strong will not to be cast down. I asked for a basin and water so as to be able to wash my hands and face. My request was granted after six days. I asked for soap, but as the police had kept all my money I could not get any, until I protested so much that at last the Governor of the prison, Don Benito Nieves, a charming person, gave me a piece of his own, and then made me a present of a cake. To combat the cold and the tedium of not being able to read, or talk, or see anyone, I paced up and down my cell, like a wild animal, until I perspired. When I saw that my incommunication was not

soon to end, I asked, on September 11, for a change of linen (I had been in prison since the 1st), for I could not endure to live in such filth, upon me and around me. They gave me clean linen on the 23rd!

This letter is important in more ways than one.

It not only shows the quiet heroism of the man, and the spirit of rancour in which he was treated: it also gives us a glimpse of a Spanish prison which is not without significance when we find that the most important — almost the only important witnesses for the prosecution were arrested for complicity in the disturbances, and were released on giving their evidence. To put a man in such a cell as this is almost equivalent to the application of *peine forte et dure*; and what is the worth of evidence so extracted?

To close the subject of Ferrer's treatment in prison, I may say that this letter to Mr. Heaford was written on October 5, when the "incommunication" was over and he was placed in a more habitable cell. Nevertheless, it ends:

The rest another time, my dear friends. I am tired now, and my little friends of the cell are beginning to take unfair advantage of the peace in which I have left them for so long. They are even coming to see what I am doing on this paper . . . I forgot to tell you that they refused to give me back a toothbrush which I had with me, two pocket handkerchiefs, or, in fact, anything belonging to me.

Ferrer said *El Universo*, had been handed over to the *austera severidad* of the military tribunals. Was it part of that austere severity to prevent him from brushing his teeth?

A Commandant in a Hurry

In the evening of the day of his arrest (September 1), he underwent his first examination, at the hands of Commandant Vicente Llivina. This officer, says Ferrer in his letter to Heaford, "seemed to me a very honourable and unprejudiced man, desirous of knowing the truth and nothing but the truth. I never saw him again." Llivina, as we have seen, was the commandant told off to get up the case against the "instigators, organisers, and directors" of the riot. It was he who had, by advertisement, summoned Ferrer to appear before him. Up to this point, the prosecution of Ferrer had been conjoined with four other prosecutions — against Emiliano Iglesias, Luis Zurdo, Trinidad Altet, and Juana Ardiaca — under the care of Llivina. But now Ferrer's case was disjoined from the group, and handed over to another examining commandant, Valerio Raso by name. What was the reason of this transference? A comparison of dates may help us to divine it. The four cases left under Llivina's charge were not brought to trial until March 4, 1910, when passion had fairly worked itself out. Three of the accused were then acquitted, and the fourth sentenced to imprisonment for life. Ferrer, on the other hand, was brought to trial within thirty nine days of his arrest, and executed four days later. Yet, with all this expedition, he was scarcely out of the way before the date fixed for the re-assembling of the Cortes. He was shot on October 13; the Chambers met on October 15. If there be no significance in this juxtaposition of dates, Sr. Maura's Government was the victim of a singularly unfortunate coincidence.

Ferrer's first meeting with Valerio Raso took place on Monday, September 6, when the commandant had him microscopically scrutinised from head to foot by two doctors, to see whether they could find any scratch, scar, or burn on his person. He believed that, if they had discovered anything of the kind, he would have been summar-

ily shot. Probably he was wrong in this. A rumour was current that he had been wounded in the riots, and that his wound had been dressed in a drug store at Badalona, a town between Barcelona and Mongat. The search for a cicatrice was no doubt intended to test the value of this evidence; and, none being found, the evidence simply disappeared from the record. For the moment, the commandant contented himself with this corporal examination. Three days later, on the 9th, he administered his first interrogatory; and on the 19th his second and last. The date of the "confrontations" we do not know. On October 1, Raso re-appeared to announce to Ferrer that his *dossier* was completed, that his "incommunication" was relaxed, and that he would be tried "one of these days." Ferrer protested that he still had many declarations to make; the commandant replied that nothing more could be admitted, "military law not being like civil law." He also presented a list of officers from among whom Ferrer must choose his Defender. Knowing none of them, he selected Francisco Galceran Ferrer,¹³ on account of the chance resemblance of names. Captain Galceran has confessed that he accepted the charge very unwillingly, being strongly prepossessed against Ferrer on account of his anti-militarism; but half an hour's talk with the prisoner made him his undaunted champion.

The Exiles and Their Evidence

Meanwhile Soledad Villafranca was eating her heart out at Teruel, in total ignorance of what was passing at Barcelona. She and some of her comrades in exile were the persons who could best speak as to Ferrer's employment of his time during the week of the revolt; and they naturally expected, day after day, to be called upon for their evidence. This expectation was encouraged (unofficially, of course, and very likely in good faith) by the jailers. A member of the Palace police from Madrid, who had been specially told off to keep watch over Mme. Villafranca, bade her wait patiently and the summons would come in good time. She and her comrades were not reassured on finding that two anarchist documents, said to have been discovered among Ferrer's papers, were going the round of the press, with the natural result of still further prejudicing the public mind against him. This is, indeed, one of the darkest features of the whole affair. The *Sumario*, or collection of evidence, is by rule and custom absolutely private; yet here were two documents, on the face of them most compromising, allowed to leak out, and passing from newspaper to newspaper. In one of the documents, moreover, as communicated to the press, a word of some importance was misquoted. When the document was cited by the Assessor ("Process," p. 33), it appeared that one of the paragraphs ended with the phrase, "*Viva la anarquia!*" But in the version sent to the newspapers the word *dinamita* was substituted for *anarquia*. These slips of the pen are a little unfortunate when a human life is at stake.

Another straw which showed how the wind was blowing was the announcement on September 25 of the rewards accorded by the Government to the men who had arrested Ferrer. The Mayor of Alella was made a Commander of the Order of Isabella the Catholic; two of the *somaten* (vigilance committee) became Cavaliers of the same order, and were presented with a uniform and complete equipment, including a Mauser rifle "with a plate commemorating the date of the arrest"; while to the watchman and one or two others who assisted in the arrest were accorded medals of Isabella the Catholic and six hundred dollars apiece in cash. Am I wrong in consider-

ing this a quite amazing incident? Seven or eight villagers have arrested one solitary man, who made no resistance, being armed with nothing more formidable than a hand camera; and, while that man is awaiting his trial, the Government goes out of its way to distribute lavish rewards among the heroic captors! Could any better means be imagined of announcing a confident foreknowledge of the prisoner's doom?

Wearied at last of waiting for a call that never came, the exiles of Teruel on September 28 addressed a letter to the examining commandant, expressing their surprise at not having been summoned, and demanding to be heard. The letter was signed by Soledad Villafranca, Jose Ferrer, Alfredo Messegue, Cristobal Litran, and Mariano Batllori. On September 30, Don Valerio Raso replied that on the previous day the case had been elevated to Plenario, and that, consequently, no more evidence could be taken. "I am surprised," he added, "that, if you had anything to say, you should not have done so before, in the twenty-eight days which had elapsed before you wrote." As no one seems to know in what consists the mysterious operation of "elevating" a case "to Plenario," it is impossible to disprove Don Valerio's assertion. It may be said, however, that the "elevation" was not made known to Ferrer himself until October 1, and that, even after that, Mme. Villafranca's mother was called upon to give evidence. The rules of the Plenario, it is true, do not permit the appearance of fresh witnesses, except in the case of "common offences" as distinguished from "military offences"; but they do not explain why, in dealing with military offences, the court should deny itself a means of getting at the truth, which it is free to employ in other cases. At any rate, as the evidence of Ferrer's friends was rejected on this paltry plea of time, it was a little unkind of the Fiscal to make it a point against him that there were no witnesses to speak in his favour ("Process," p. 21).

The Trial

At a quarter to eight on the morning of Saturday October 9, the Council of War assembled at the Model Prison for the trial of Francisco Ferrer. The prisoner was not, as has been stated, brought before the court in fetters. That report arose from a misprint in the *Times*. There were about twenty (not two hundred) journalists present, and an audience of privileged (and no doubt "well-thinking") persons. Ferrer tried at the outset to say a word of apology for the ridiculous attire in which he was forced to present himself, but he was cut short by the President.

We do not possess a full report of the *dossier* recited by the examining commandant; but there can be no doubt that everything that could possibly tell against the prisoner was recapitulated and underlined in the "Fiscal accusation," which has been published in full ("Process," pp. 5-28).

The Fiscal, Don Jesus Marin Rafales, opened with a rhetorical description of the riots and outrages, quite in the style of that quoted from the *Correspondencia* and almost as exaggerated. Before saying a word to connect Ferrer with these events, he appealed to the professional and personal resentments of the judges, "all or almost all" of whom, he said, had taken part in the repression, and had been exposed to its dangers. He spoke of the "fire to which you were subjected from barricades and hostetops." He denounced the rioters as "drunk with blood," forgetting that nine tenths of the blood shed was that of the populace, shot down by the police and soldiers. In short, he neglected no means of awakening the passions of the soldier judges, if perchance they had fallen asleep. At the same time, he explicitly declared:

In this case we are not investigating the burning of a particular convent, nor the explosion at this or that given point, nor the cutting of this or that telegraph wire, nor the construction of this or that barricade, nor this or that overt act of war. No! we are following up the revolutionary movement in its innermost entrails; we are investigating the causes that gave it life, and seeking the agency which prepared, impelled, and sustained it.

In less ornate terms, the Fiscal confessed that they could not bring home to the prisoner a single act of violence.

He then devoted a few minutes to arguing that the events of July constituted a "military rebellion" as by law defined; and, that being satisfactorily established, he went on to an analysis of the evidence. It is this analysis which we must now analyse:

The evidence falls under four distinct heads:

1. Unsupported opinion and hearsay.
2. Statements which may or may not be true, but which prove nothing.
3. More or less relevant accusations, the truth or falsehood of which is worth examining.
4. Documentary evidence — two revolutionary papers purporting to have been found at Mas Germinal.

1. Unsupported Opinion and Hearsay

Under this head I cannot do better than summarise a single paragraph of the Fiscal's speech:

Lieutenant-Colonel Leoncio Ponte of the Guardia Civil points to Ferrer as taking active part in the movement of Masnou and Premia. It is not pretended that Lieutenant-Colonel Ponte saw him doing so, or speaks otherwise than from hearsay.

Jimenez Moya, "a witness above suspicion, since, on account of the exaltation of his ideas, he is at present banished to Majorca, makes the charge more concrete, saying that, *in his opinion*, the rebellion started from the Solidaridad Obrera. . . and pointing to Ferrer and his companions of the Antimilitarist League as its directors." [The Fiscal does not add, what we learn from Captain Galceran's speech, that the declaration of this witness ends with the avowal that "he knows nothing positive, since he was absent from Barcelona from the 15th of July onwards."]

Verdaguer Callis "affirms that, *according to intelligence which he has no means of verifying, but which he believes to be exact*," the events were "impelled and directed by Ferrer Guardia."

Emiliano Iglesias believes that the Solidaridad Obrera spent more money than it possessed. [Ferrer had, about a year previously, lent the Solidaridad Obrera one hundred and eighty dollars which it required to meet the expenses of moving into the new premises. Beyond this no one proved or attempted to prove any financial relation between Ferrer and the society.]

Baldomero Bonet, arrested on a charge of convent burning, believes that the Solidaridad Obrera was at the bottom of the events, and, as it does not abound in funds, *participates in the general idea* that it was subvented by Ferrer. On a second examination, "he confirms his belief, since he cannot understand that any other element could have caused the events."

"The same current against the Solidaridad Obrera and Ferrer is maintained in the declaration of Modesto Lara."

Garcia Magallon relates a conversation with a journalist named Pierre,¹³ who told him that he had heard it said that the events were promoted by the Solidaridad Obrera under the direction of Ferrer.

Puig Ventura "believes that Ferrer was at the bottom of it all."

Casas-Llibre formed the opinion that Ferrer was the "directing element."

Alvarez Espinosa "abounds in the same opinion," and believes that Ferrer was "the true instigator and inspirer of the events."

The last three witnesses we shall encounter again, and shall have to consider the value of their evidence on matters which actually came within their knowledge. Here they are only, like all the rest, expressing opinions and beliefs for which they do not even allege the smallest solid foundation. Thus we have ten witnesses, one of whom, Iglesias, said nothing about Ferrer, two "pointed to" him, three "believed" that he was at the bottom of the revolt, two "formed an opinion" to the same effect, one related a report "which he had no means of verifying," and one repeated what someone else told him that he had heard someone else say. Meanwhile, in the jails of Barcelona, there were more than a thousand prisoners accused of participation in the riots, and in the rest of Catalonia at least a thousand more, not one of whom could be found to have received orders from Ferrer, or arms, or money, or to have had any direct or indirect knowledge of him as organiser or chief of the revolt.

A group of five witnesses cited by the Fiscal in the same paragraph deserves somewhat different treatment. They are villagers of Premia — Don Juan This and Don Jaime That. Three of them declare generally that "after" the visit of Ferrer to Premia on Wednesday the 28th events in that locality "assumed a grave character"; a fourth asserts that the change took place "immediately on his arrival," while the fifth places it at "an hour after his departure." Now we shall see anon that Ferrer spent a very short time in Premia, that a most important witness, Puig Ventura (called Llarch), was in his company all the time, and that, except for what he is alleged to have said to Puig, Casas, etc., he clearly held no communication with a soul in the village. Thus, while the evidence for any considerable change in the course of events is of the vaguest, one of the Prosecution's own witnesses proves that there was no connection between Ferrer's visit and whatever change there may have been.

A Shadowy Host of "Agents"

But we are by no means at the end of hearsay evidence and the expression of mere opinion. It is stated that a man named Sola was frequently seen during the days of the disturbance at the Fraternidad Republicana of Premia, and one Juan Alsina is "morally certain" that he received instructions directly from Ferrer. There is no evidence whatever as to his having done or attempted anything illegal; but, on the ground of one witness's "moral certainty" that he was an emissary of Ferrer, this is gravely set forth as an incriminating circumstance. Again, one Puig Pons speaks of the appearance at Premia of a party of thirty men whom he "believes" to have been recruited by Ferrer. He does not know this personally; but when he asked the bystanders who these men were, the answer was, "They are the stone-cutters whom Ferrer is said to have sent." Moreover, a good deal of vague village gossip is reported as to cyclists and persons driving a *tartana*, or one horse cart, who were supposed to be agents of Ferrer; but no one is produced who actually saw these agents; much less anyone who saw them do or heard them say anything illegal; least of all any evidence to connect them with Ferrer.

But the finest example, perhaps, of this class of evidence, is afforded by a witness named Pedro Pages, who "reports that he read in *La Almudaina*, a newspaper of Palma [Majorca]," a story about some workmen having patrolled the coast

road, saying they did so under the orders of Sr. Ferrer. A newspaper paragraph is not usually considered the best of evidence; but Don Pedro Pages did not even produce the paragraph — he only remembered to have read it.

A point of transition between pure hearsay and evidence of some apparent validity is afforded by the incident of the town hall at Masnou. Salvador Millet relates, "from information received (*segun referencias*), "that on the 27th or 28th groups of rebels presented themselves at the town hall, and from the balcony "harangued the multitude," saying that they did so in the name of Ferrer, "who could not be present, as he was detained in Barcelona on the business of the revolution." This is the usual vague hearsay; but in this case there is actually one witness, — Esteban Puigdemon, who declares that from the door of his house, hard by the town hall, he heard one man make a speech and say that he came to represent Ferrer. Well may the Fiscal introduce Don Esteban in italics as a *testigo presencial*, or witness who was on the spot. Such witnesses are rarities in this part of his brief.

Esteban, indeed, is more than a rarity; he is unique. We shall come presently to witnesses who purport to relate what Ferrer actually said to them at Masnou and Premia; but there is nothing in their evidence that shows him acting as organiser or director of the occurrences in that region. The attempt to exhibit him in that light — "irradiating rebellion," as the Prosecutor of the Supreme Court put it, from his headquarters at Mas Germinal — rests absolutely and entirely on the hearsay evidence we have just examined. Of the host of agents with whom popular rumour credited him, — cyclists, stonemasons, miscellaneous workmen, indefinite "rebels," etc., — not one is produced. There is no direct testimony to his having issued a single order or paid anyone a single peseta. There is only one *testigo presencial*, who heard some unknown person "harangue a multitude," and say that he acted on behalf of Ferrer. What has become of the "multitude"? If the incident really occurred, surely a few more of that crowd might have been found to testify to it. And, even if it did occur, can Ferrer be held responsible for what an unidentified "rebel" may have said? This whole part of the case merely proves — what we learn in other ways as well — that the ignorant peasants of the district had been indoctrinated with wild ideas as to the maleficent power of their heretic neighbour at Mas Germinal.

2. Statements That Prove Nothing

We have now to return to Barcelona, and to Ferrer's doings on the 26th — the day of the strike. We have already noted that, in his own account of that day, he omitted a good deal, probably in fear of compromising his friends. Let us now see whether there was anything criminal — anything displaying him in the character of "author and chief of the revolt" — in the incidents that he omitted.

There is no attempt to show the "author and chief" in any way concerned with the events of the day until three o'clock in the afternoon. At that hour — between his luncheon and his appointment with the engraver — he went to the Casa del Pueblo, a workman's restaurant and recreation place, in search of his secretary, Litran. In the cafe he saw an old Republican, Lorenzo Ardid, whose evidence is thus reported by the Fiscal:

Ferrer entered and saluted him, saying that he would like to speak to him privately. Ardid replied, "When you please"; and Ferrer then asked him, "What do you think of the events of the day?" The witness answered, "It is all over: it is only a sort of protest, which cannot go any

further." Then Ferrer repeated, "You think it cannot go any further?" — upon which he answered with energy, and Ferrer became silent. Ardid then turned his back to him and said to one of the company, "Tell that gentleman that he had better go away quickly by the side door" — which Ferrer at once did.

Ardid has since declared that this is a perverted version of his evidence; but, taking it at its face value, what is there in it? A passing remark on the situation. The Prosecution apparently seeks to suggest that in Ferrer's exit there was some sort of conscious guilt; but Ardid declares that he explained this in his evidence. The fact was that Ferrer had fallen out with the Radical-Republican party, which has its headquarters at the Casa del Pueblo, and Ardid heard, or thought he heard, a menacing hum in the crowded cafe which showed that his presence was resented. As we have abundant proof of the momentary feud between Ferrer and the Lerrouxists, this explanation of the matter is entirely credible.

From a rational point of view, the sole importance of the incident arises from the fact that Ferrer appears to have denied having been at the Casa del Pueblo or seen Ardid, and only to have retracted this denial on being confronted with the witness. I have satisfied myself, from the position and character of the Casa del Pueblo, that Ferrer can scarcely have forgotten the fact of his having been there. Here, then, is a single case in which he seems to have made a positively untrue statement.¹⁴ And why? In all probability, because he feared to compromise this very Ardid, who, as a matter of fact, was arrested in connection with the riots. The commandant probably questioned him about the Casa del Pueblo without letting him know that Ardid was to figure as a witness against him; and Ferrer was probably on his guard not to make any admission that could possibly be used against the old Republican campaigner.

Oddly enough, the Fiscal accepts, without attempting to cast doubt upon it, the statement that Ferrer intended to return to Mongat by the six o'clock train — an intention which cannot but seem surprising in the head of the revolt, especially as it implies that the organiser-in-chief did not know that the railway line was to be cut. When Ferrer left the station, he was seen by "the agent of vigilance, Don Angel Fernandez Bermejo, entrusted with the duty of shadowing him," mingling with seditious groups on the Plaza de Antonio Lopez, again near the Ataranzas barracks, and yet again on the Rambla. When one of the groups was dispersed by a charge of the police, he lost sight of Ferrer, but then saw him again going into the Hotel Internacional, where, as a matter of fact, he dined. The sole importance of this evidence is to show that Ferrer was shadowed. He could scarcely move about the streets without getting into "groups," and he would naturally exchange a few observations with this man and that. Of anything pointing to leadership the spy has no word to say.

It was very likely at the same time, though they place it a little earlier, that two soldiers saw a man in a blue suit and a straw hat in a group of people on the Plaza de Antonio Lopez. When they requested him to move on, he pointed to a poster on the wall proclaiming a state of siege, and said, "May one not read that?" This seems an innocent and even laudable desire; yet the Fiscal singles it out as being of "notable intrinsic importance," and is triumphant when the soldiers identify Ferrer "three times"¹⁵ in a group of prisoners. Very probably the man was Ferrer, who was certainly in that part of town about that time; but where is the intrinsic "importance" of the fact? Shortly afterward,

the Fiscal tries to give it extrinsic importance by citing the evidence of two officers who, on the 28th, arrested some persons armed with new Smith revolvers, who said the pistols had been given to them by a man they did not know, wearing a blue suit and a straw hat. How many men in Barcelona wore blue suits and straw hats? And what had become of the arrested men? If one or two of them had identified Ferrer as the distributor of the weapons, their evidence would have been worth all the rest put together.

The Barber of Masnou

Now appears on the scene a curious and rather important figure. As Ferrer was sitting, about half past nine o'clock, in the cafe under the Hotel Internacional, where he had dined, he saw passing a youth named Francisco Domenech, assistant in a barber's shop at Masnou, and secretary of the Republican Committee of that village. Ferrer called him in, and, learning that he proposed to walk home that night, suggested that they might go together. From the cafe, says Domenech, they went to the office of the Lerrouxist (Republican) paper *El Progreso*, to learn "what the comrades were going to do" — an odd enquiry for the "author and chief" to make. Thence they went to a cafe, where Ferrer met some of his friends and nothing particular happened; and presently they returned to the office of *El Progreso*. Ferrer went in alone, and on coming out he remarked, according to Domenech, that neither Iglesias nor others had been willing to sign a document which he had brought in with him, an address to the government demanding the cessation of embarkations for Melilla, and threatening, in case of refusal, to make a revolution, the signatories placing themselves at the head of the people. Iglesias had said that the strikers had better return to work, and he had asked what forces he counted upon for the course proposed.

Now, Iglesias denies that he saw Ferrer that night. It is true, however, that some such document had been drawn up by Moreno; and it is true that, had the project gone forward, Ferrer would have signed it. But it is not true that the design was his, that he carried the document around, or that he took any leading part in the negotiation. In so far as Domenech's testimony points in that direction, it is false. Domenech may have misunderstood, or his evidence may have received a little twist in the reporting. We shall see before we have done with Domenech that there was no possibility of testing or rectifying his statements.

From the office of *El Progreso* Ferrer and Domenech set forth to walk home. Their way lay through the calle de la Princesa, and in that street they met Moreno. Ferrer told him that they were representatives of the Solidaridad Obrera at the office of *El Progreso*, trying if they could come to an understanding with the Radicals, and suggested that Moreno should go and see what was happening. He replied: "They [presumably the Radicals] are already compromised"; and added, according to Domenech, "Woe to whoever fails us, for we will do with him as they do with traitors in Russia!"

Then Ferrer and the little barber walked on together, parting at Mongat between four and five in the morning. We shall meet our friend Domenech again a little later.

In all these incidents of the 26th, is there a single one that shows Ferrer taking a directing part in the disturbances? I submit that the evidence, even accepting it at its face value, is wholly inconsistent with such a view. He is an interested onlooker, no more; and after six o'clock he is an onlooker only because the trains are not running, and he

prefers (as he said to Litran) to take his eleven mile walk in the cool of the early morning. We find him willing to join in sending a threatening address to the government; and if that willingness be a punishable offence, he deserved whatever punishment the law assigns to it. But between that and being author and chief of the rebellion there is all the difference in the world. Had he had any guilty conscience, he would scarcely have been at pains to attach a witness to his every footstep. Domenech asserts, no doubt with truth, that he and Ferrer were the merest acquaintances. Why should Ferrer, had he been organising and directing the rebellion, have put his life in the hands of a casual barber's assistant.

3. Relevant Accusations: The Catholic Journalist

It is almost a relief to come upon two accusations to which a certain weight would doubtless have been attached in a competent court of law. One is the unsupported assertion of a single man; the other rests on the testimony of several witnesses.

Don Francisco de Paula Coldefons,¹⁶ a journalist on the staff of various clerical papers, asserted in one of them, *El Siglo Futuro*, as early as August 8, that he saw Ferrer "at the head of a group (*capitaneando un grupo*) in front of the Liceo Theatre on the Rambla." When he appeared before the examining commandant, however, his statement became considerably less positive. This is how the Fiscal reports it:

The said gentleman affirms that on Tuesday, the 27th, between seven thirty and eight thirty in the evening, he saw a group, in the Rambla, in front of the Liceo, *captained* (mark that well) *captained* by a person who seemed to him to be Francisco Ferrer Guardia, whom he knew only from a photograph; but he acquired the conviction that it must be he from hearing the passers-by say so. The group passed down the Calle del Hospital. Furthermore... the witness identified Ferrer three times in a circle of prisoners as the man he had seen in that situation.

Clearly this evidence is worth looking into.

What weight can we attach to the identification? The witness who knew Ferrer from photographs would, of course, refresh his memory of these photographs before proceeding to the identification, so that it is scarcely surprising that he should recognise his man. Moreover, we have seen that the authorities had been careful to dress Ferrer in a ridiculous garb, which would make him stand out from any group of ordinary prisoners, and ensure attention being drawn to him. The identification, then, amounts to nothing.

Now as to the actual incident: It took place between "seven thirty and eight thirty in the evening"; yet it does not seem to have occurred to anyone to enquire by what light Coldefons recognised a man whom he knew only by photographs. I have satisfied myself that at seven thirty on July 27 it would be barely possible to see a man's features by the evening light at the spot indicated; at seven forty five or later it would be quite impossible. But what about electric light? I have been unable to find any conclusive evidence as to whether the electric lamps were or were not lighted on the Rambla that evening. The probability is that they were not. In any case, the light must have either been very dim, or else artificial and deceptive. The fact that this point was wholly neglected shows the danger of relying upon witnesses who cannot be cross-examined. Furthermore, no one has enquired what Sr. Coldefons meant when he said that the man in question was "captaining" the group. What were the signs and tokens of his captaincy? On this point, too, a little cross-examination would

not have been amiss.

What, now, was the probability of Ferrer's being in Barcelona on the evening of the 27th? The authorities had carefully refused to admit the evidence of Ferrer's family, who positively assert that he never quitted Mas Germinal that day. But, even with this testimony ruled out, what do we know? We know that he reached home on foot about five on the Tuesday morning; and we know that all public means of communication by which he could have returned to Barcelona that day were interrupted. Can we conceive that, at two or three on the Tuesday afternoon, he started in the blazing heat to walk eleven dusty miles into Barcelona, in order to "captain a group"? Or, if he took some private conveyance, can we conceive that, in that thickly peopled region of gossiping villagers, no evidence of the fact should be forthcoming? He must not only have gone to Barcelona, but he must have returned before ten the next morning, when he went, as usual, to be shaved at Masnou. Is it conceivable that there should be absolutely no evidence as to his means of transit either way? that not a living soul should have seen him outside of Mas Germinal, save Don Francisco de Paula Coldefons? Where was the "agent of vigilance, Don Angel Fernandez Bermejo, entrusted with the duty of shadowing him"? He was not a man unknown in Barcelona, nor one whose comings and goings were apt to be unmarked. If he was "captaining a group," he must have made himself at least moderately conspicuous; yet, out of the thousands who were in the streets that night, the one discoverable person who recognised him was a Catholic journalist who did not know him!

And this Catholic journalist who did not know him is the one witness who even purports to present him in the light of a chief or director, not of the revolt, but of a particular *grupo de revoltosos*.

The Village Republicans

Vastly more serious is the evidence of the village Republicans of Masnou and Premia de Mar. If we can believe it, we must hold Ferrer guilty of an indiscretion which was doubtless liable to some punishment, though it was immeasurably different from the crime of being "author and chief of the revolt." But can we believe the evidence?

This is how it runs: On Wednesday the 28th, Ferrer, as was his custom of a Wednesday morning, presented himself at the barber's shop at Masnou, where Domenech was employed. According to Domenech, he sent for one Juan Puig Ventura, nicknamed Llarch, or "tall," the President of the Republican Committees. On Llarch's arrival, Ferrer proposed to him that he should go to the *Ayuntamiento*, or town hall, and there proclaim the Republic. So far, Domenech; but Llarch himself goes further and says that Ferrer urged him "to begin "by inciting people to sally forth and burn churches and convents." Llarch replied that he did not see how that would advance the Republican cause; to which Ferrer answered that he cared nothing about the Republic, but was simply bent on revolution. He then proposed that Llarch should accompany him to Premia, which that gentleman, though shocked at his suggestions, agreed to do. At Premia they met the Alcalde, or Mayor, to whom Ferrer made similar proposals. Then, on their way back to Masnou, they met a group of young men coming from Barcelona, who told them what was going on,¹⁷ whereupon Ferrer said, "Good! Good! Courage! It must all be destroyed!"

The Alcalde himself, Don Domingo Casas

and the acting secretary of the *Ayuntamiento*, Alvarez, are quoted as emphatically confirming the statement that Ferrer proposed the proclamation of the Republic, and the Deputy Alcalde, Mustares, seems to have told the same story. Finally, Francisco Calvet, waiter at the *Fraternidad Republicana* of Premia, relates that at half past twelve on the day in question Llarch appeared at the cafe with another person whom he (Calvet) did not know:

"Presently arrived Casas, Mustares, and Alvarez; and then the unknown said: 'I am Ferrer Guardia.' The witness adds that this produced a startling effect on those present and especially on himself, on account of all the evil he had heard of that person; and that then Ferrer added, addressing the Alcalde, 'I have come to say to you that you must proclaim the Republic in Premia.' The Alcalde replied, 'Sr. Ferrer, I do not accept these words'; upon which the accused answered, 'How should you not accept them, since the Republic is proclaimed in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, and other capitals?'"

These allegations, I confess, seem to me by far the strongest part of the whole case for the prosecution. On examination, we find reason to discount them heavily; but I am inclined to think that there must be a residue of truth in them.

What is Ferrer's own account of the matter? We have it in the long letter to Charles Malato, written on October 1. He says that the barber's shop at Masnou rapidly filled with people who wanted to question him about the events at Barcelona; for the report had got abroad that he was connected with them. He told them that he was as anxious as they for news, since he wanted to attend to his publishing affairs as soon as business resumed. Just then a steamboat came along the coast from Barcelona, and seemed to be going to put in at Premia; whereupon he proposed to Llarch, who had just been telling how he had quieted a riotous crowd, that they should walk on to Premia and learn what news the steamer brought. But she did not, after all, put in at Premia; so they very soon returned, Llarch to Masnou, Ferrer to Mongat. During the five or ten minutes they spent in Premia, they were surrounded by people asking for news - "as we, in turn, asked them." "It appears," Ferrer continues, "that the Republican Mayor of Premia was among the group; and he now declares that I proposed to him to proclaim the Republic, and to burn the convent and the church; which is as false as Llarch's assertion to the same effect. The judge conducted me with these two *canailles*, who stuck to their assertions in spite of my protests, reminding them that we exchanged only the phrases that everyone was exchanging in those days: What is going on? What is the news from here, from there? What are people saying?"

At the confrontations, Llarch is reported as having said "that he was sure Ferrer would abound in explanations and denials, but that he nevertheless maintained what he had stated"; while the Alcalde said, "One who denies the truth, as you do, is capable of denying the light of the sun."

Six Just Men

We have, then, six witnesses - Domenech, Llarch, the Alcalde, Mustares, Alvarez, and Calvet - who all aver that Ferrer urged the proclamation of the Republic, two of them adding that he also incited to convent burning. This is unquestionably a pretty strong evidence. But there are one or two remarks to be made as to the credit of the witnesses.

Domenech, to begin with, having given his evidence, was got out of the country with all despatch. His own account is that "friends" gave him money, and that he started for South America on the 16th

of August. The "friends" are stated to have been the Barcelona Committee of Social Defence, an ultra-Catholic organisation, which bought him off his military service and gave him three hundred dollars with which to clear out. This assertion was made, in somewhat veiled terms, by Captain Galceran, in his speech for Ferrer's defence; and I have not seen it denied. At all events, I have it from Sr. Domenech's own lips that "friends" made it possible for him to absent himself for three or four months — until, in fact, Ferrer was satisfactorily dead. His evidence, then, though costly, can scarcely be called valuable.

Of the other five, three at least — Llarch, the Alcalde, and Alvarez (I am not quite sure about Mustares) — were arrested on the charge of having taken part in the disturbances, and were liberated, without trial, after giving their evidence. This is, on the face of it, not quite reassuring. And, when one realises the whole position, — the panic that prevailed; the denunciations flying around; the jails (and such jails!) full of prisoners; and always on the horizon the grim silhouette of Montjuich, with its tradition of torture, — one is not inclined to wonder overmuch if these poor villagers (a butcher, a blacksmith, etc.) were tempted to give to their evidence just the little twist that the authorities so ardently desired. We may remember, too, that at the time when the first investigations were made (it must have been early in August, since Domenech departed on the 16th) it was universally believed that Ferrer was safely out of the country. What more simple and harmless than to shift onto his shoulders any little indiscretions into which one might have been betrayed?

On the other hand, I am inclined to regard the waiter, Calvet, as an honest witness. He was not (I believe) arrested, and he had nothing to fear except, perhaps, loss of favour with the Committee of the Fraternidad Republicana. It will be noted that he says nothing about convent burning. Moreover, I confess to feeling that Ferrer, in the letter above quoted, protests a little too much. It is hard to believe that he and Llarch walked from Masnou to Premià and back again (about five miles in all) without exchanging some definite views on the situation. Ferrer's version of all that passed during these two hours is altogether too colourless and non-committal. The probability is, I think, that there was a good deal of general discussion as to the prospects of the revolt. Barcelona was entirely cut off from the rest of the world, and it is certain that wild rumours were afloat as to the success of the movement in other cities. The question whether, and when, it would be safe to proclaim the Republic, would almost certainly be canvassed among these Republicans; and it is possible that Calvet, going to and fro about his business, may have heard phrases which, somewhat modified by after suggestion, assumed in his mind the form in which he spoke them. Nor can one regard it as quite improbable that, looking at the columns of smoke rising over Barcelona, Ferrer may have expressed a malign glee. In this there is nothing inconsistent with his declaration to the examining commandant that "he was opposed to what happened in the week of the disturbances." I do not wish to see any wrong done to my dearest foe, and I would not raise a finger to injure him; but if, by chance, he gets into trouble — well, I do not pretend to be inconsolable.

The story of the villagers, then, may very likely be founded on fact, though wildly distorted by their panic-stricken eagerness to save their own skins. Supposing it, however, to be literally true, can we find in it any proof that Ferrer was the author and chief of the revolt? On the contrary, it shows him, on the day when the revolt reached

its height, strolling through insignificant villages, thirteen to fifteen miles from Barcelona, and making pitifully ineffectual attempts to lure certain law-abiding citizens aside from the paths of virtue in which their feet are fixed. It is quite extraordinary how badly he chooses his men, and how he is rebuffed at every turn by their unflinching loyalty to Church and State. Strange that these pillars of the commonwealth should actually have been imprisoned for sedition! Their story, if we accept every syllable of it, would show Ferrer liable to whatever punishment the law assigns to an utterly abortive attempt to stir up a local sedition; but even the Spanish Military Code does not make this a capital offence.

4. Documentary Evidence

Space forbids me to enter at large into the somewhat complex question of the "documentary proofs." They consisted of two papers, one of which Ferrer admitted to be genuine, while he declared that he had never set eyes on the other. The genuine paper (there is good reason to believe that it came before the court in a seriously garbled form) was a circular which he had drafted in 1892, had never issued, and, in fact, had never thought of again. The policy embodied in it was one which he had in the meantime utterly abandoned, both in theory and practice, as his correspondence from 1900 onward conclusively proves. The second paper was an odd-looking typewritten document in two parts, purporting to be an anarchist proclamation, though suspiciously like the work of an *agent provocateur*. It was said to have been found during the practically uncontrolled search of Mas Germinal of August 27 to 29; and two experts in handwriting, inspecting three letters (a *r*, a *b*, and an *a*) put in with a pen, declared that they *might be* in Ferrer's hand, though they could not say positively. The weakness of the attribution is flagrant; and even if we believe Ferrer to have had anything to do with the document, it had no reference whatever to the events of Barcelona, but clearly appeared, on internal evidence, to have been written between 1900 and 1902. Yet all three accusers (the Fiscal, the Assessor, and the Auditor) dwell on these documents as conclusive proofs of guilt.

Verdict and Execution

The result is known to all the world. On Saturday the 13th the Council of War, having in a single morning heard all the evidence and pleadings in the complex cause, devoted the afternoon to hearing, in secret session, the Assessor's indictment, then, in secret, passed sentence of death. The Auditor had then to write his report upon the sentence before sending it up to the Captain-General; and the Captain-General had to send it, fortified with his approval, to the Government in Madrid. Spain is sometimes thought to be a country of dilatory habit; but here the promptitude of all concerned was nothing less than miraculous. The Auditor wrote this *dictamen* of 7,500 words in a single day, Sunday the 10th — a very remarkable feat; and in two more days the Captain-General and the Government had satisfied their consciences of the justice of the sentence. About three in the morning of the 11th Ferrer was removed from the prison to Montjuich: a step which showed his fate was already sealed. On Tuesday evening a cabinet council was held in Madrid, ending about half past eight; and, almost at the same hour, Ferrer was taken to the office of the governor of the fortress, where the examining commandant, Valerio Raso, read to him the sentence of death. He was then conducted, *en capilla*, into a mortuary chapel, where he was surrounded all night by priests of various

orders, pressing upon him with their ministrations. These he declined without asperity, and occupied the greater part of the night in dictating to a notary a long and careful will. At a little before nine in the morning of Wednesday the 13th he was led out into the trenches of Montjuich and shot.

His worst enemies admit that he faced death with serene courage. He asked to be allowed to stand, instead of kneeling, and to have his eyes unbandaged. The first part of this request was granted, but the second was refused on the ground that "traitors are not permitted to see their executioners." On facing the firing squad, he cried: "Aim well, my sons! It is not your fault. I am innocent. Long live the Escuela..." Three bullets in the brain cut short the phrase. By especial favour, his mother and nephew were permitted to see his horribly disfigured remains before they were consigned to the common burial ground.

When the Cortes met, two days later, the Ministry could point not only to a *chose jugée*, but to a *fait accompli*.

The Case Summed Up

Excepting some of the villagers and one or two subordinate policemen,¹⁷ I doubt whether anyone concerned in the affair acted in deliberate and conscious bad faith. It is quite unnecessary to suppose so. We have all the materials for a judicial crime, in a law carefully designed to give the accused no chance, administered by a band of puzzle-headed and prejudiced soldiers. Lawyer's law is not always synonymous with justice, but it is always preferable to soldier's law. I have given sufficient specimens of the sort of evidence gravely propounded to and accepted by the Council of War; but no one who has not studied in detail the *dictamen* of the Fiscal, the Assessor, and the Auditor can fully estimate the sheer stupidity of these gallant officers.

I reject, then, the theory of any criminal conspiracy against Ferrer. Malignant stupidity, coupled with the absence of the most rudimentary sense of fair play, is sufficient to account for all that occurred. But certainly it has a good deal to account for: the arbitrary banishment of all Ferrer's friends; the studied neglect to call for their evidence; the pettifoggish refusal of that evidence when offered; the wantonly harsh treatment of the untried prisoner; the abstraction of his clothes and personal property; the publication (in papers under strict censorship) of compromising documents which, whether genuine or not, should never have left the secret portfolio of the examining commandant; the rewards ostentatiously showered on the heroes who had arrested an unarmed and unresisting man; the violent haste with which, from the moment the "incommunication" was relaxed and the Defender chosen, the whole complex case was rushed to its conclusion; the eager acceptance of every second hand whisper to the detriment of the accused, and the rejection of every favourable testimony to character; the neglect of even the scanty opportunities provided by the law for the public examination of witnesses; the spiriting away of one important witness, and the release without trial of others — all this would give the case a dark and sinister complexion even if the evidence were ten times stronger than it is. But this is not villainy, not Jesuitism; it is plain downright stupidity. Having an iniquitous law ready made to their hands, his enemies could have shot Ferrer quite as comfortably if they had observed the law in every detail, had treated him with scrupulous consideration, and had left his captors unrewarded. The haste alone was necessary, lest, when the Cortes met, awkward

questions should be asked. But the waste was the greatest stupidity of all, for it meant the suicide of the Ministry. The Cortes assembled on October 15. Three days later the Liberal leader, Sr. Moret, delivered a crushing attack on the Government of Sr. Maura; and though Maura and La Cierva, the Minister of the Interior, made a fierce fight, three more days sufficed to drive them from office. They resigned on October 21, just eight days after the death of Ferrer. It is true that the Liberal attack was based on their general mismanagement, the alternate impotence and violence of their conduct, rather than on the Ferrer case in particular. Sr. Moret, when challenged to say whether he himself would have pardoned Ferrer, made no answer. It was difficult to answer a question which assumed Ferrer's guilt; for if he was guilty he deserved no pardon. But, whatever the attitude of the Liberals toward Ferrer, there is not the least doubt that the execution of Europe, with which in those days the air was ringing, was the main factor in Maura's fall. The Government were forced to admit Moret's contention that "their unpopularity at home and abroad was a danger to the country."

I am not at all sure that, had Ferrer been fairly tried under reasonable rules of evidence, he would have got off scot free. He was certainly not the "author and chief" of the revolt; that accusation was a monstrous absurdity; but it is not quite clear that his irrepressible sympathy with every form of revolt may not have led him into one or two indiscretions. What is perfectly clear is that it was not the crumbs of good evidence against him that led to his condemnation, but the mountain of bad evidence, to most of which a rational court of law would have refused to listen for a moment. The ultimate truth, when we get to the roots of things, is that he fell a victim to a simple equivocation — a play upon

words. His accusers, his judges, all the witnesses against him, from the villagers of Premia up to the Fiscal of the Supreme Court (who was practically, though not formally, cited as a witness), were profoundly convinced that he was morally responsible for the revolt — that he was, through his opinions and teachings, the moral author and chief of the "Revolution." But the law had unfortunately omitted to make such "moral" authorship a capital crime, so it was necessary to allege efficient and actual authorship as well. Constantly and quite plainly we see the minds of witnesses and advocates shifting from one ground to the other, and back again. The most flagrant instance, perhaps, occurs in the dictamen of the Auditor, ("Process," p. 56); but the insidious fallacy is traceable on almost every page of the official documents, to say nothing of the writings of conservative and clerical apologists for the sentence. Many of these, indeed, practically abandon any other plea than that of "moral" responsibility.

Is it a just plea? Can it be maintained that the five years' activity of the Escuela Moderna and its *sucursales*, together with the publication of certain scientific and educational manuals, contributed appreciably to the popular frame of mind displayed in the revolt? Barcelona had been a turbulent city, and a hotbed of *acratism* and anti-clericalism long before Ferrer began his educational work. The influence of that work it is impossible to measure precisely; but it was, in all probability, a mere drop in the ocean. At any rate, it is a gross absurdity to seek in the Escuela Moderna the mainspring of the revolt.

Ferrer was not a great educator; he was not a great man. His thought was crude. Quite amazing is the poverty of resources which can combat such thought and such methods only with the gag and garotte. But, while he was intellectually mediocre, his persecutors contrived

to reveal in him a genuine moral greatness. His idealism was ardent and sincere, his courage was high and unflinching; and these qualities are not so common that we can deny their possessor a certain greatness. The man who wrote his letter from prison, and who faced an unmerited doom with such simple serenity, is certainly not the least among the victims of obscurantism, the martyrs of progress.

Both in Spain and out of it, Ferrer has very commonly been called "The Spanish Dreyfus." The resemblances between the two "affairs" are, indeed, unmistakable. In each case we see militarism, inspired by clericalism, riding roughshod over the plainest principles and practices of justice. The victim in each case is a personage hated by the Church — in France a Jew, in Spain a freethinker. If my reading of the Ferrer case is right, there was not so much active and deliberate villainy at work in it as there was in the Dreyfus case; but, on the other hand, the determination to convict, with or without evidence, was even more manifest in the Spanish authorities than in the French. The character of Ferrer was interesting in itself, whereas Dreyfus, apart from his calamities, would never have been heard of. But the great difference between the cases lies in the fact that the Spanish Government had the courage of its fanaticism and killed its man. Perhaps it took warning from the Dreyfus case and determined to seek security in the irreparable. It is true that no argument, no revision can undo the work of that October morning in the trenches of Montjuich; but it may be doubted whether Don Antonio Maura may not find the ghost of Ferrer more formidable than the living man could ever have been.

— William Archer

(from McClure's Magazine, Oct. — Nov. 1910)

Footnotes

1. In a pamphlet of sixty-nine pages entitled "Ordinary Process Followed before the Military Tribunals. . . against Francisco Ferrer Guardia" ("Juicio Ordinario seguido ante los Tribunales Militares en la Plaza de Barcelona contra Francisco Ferrer Guardia"). In future references to this work I shall simply call it the "Process."
2. The letters which establish the dates given in this paragraph are of unquestioned authenticity and can be produced at any time.
3. It is said that Ferrer would have returned to Paris before the outbreak of the troubles had he not been asked by a friend to make some business inquiries, which detained him; but I do not think that the intention to start before the fatal 26th of July is quite clearly established.
4. There were no premonitory symptoms. Not a cloud gave warning of the transition from calm to tempest. The life of the city pursued its normal course. From time to time, with the usual regular irregularity, a bomb exploded, but that, although it angered all citizens, alarmed few." La Semana Tragica, by Augusto Riera.
5. Barcelona, Julio de 1909: Declaracion de un testigo, Madrid, 1910, p. 14.
6. During the early morning of the 27th two buildings occupied by Marist fathers had been burnt in the suburbs of Pueblo Nuevo; but this seems to have been an isolated act of lawlessness, and not the real beginning of the incendiary frenzy.
7. This account of Ferrer's day is mainly founded on his own deposition. His statement as to interviews with the paper-maker and engraver was confirmed by the evidence of the parties in question, taken by the examining commandant. The evidence of Litran and Meseguer was not before the court, they having been deported, as we shall presently see, with all Ferrer's family and staff; but they made formal declarations which they sent from their place of banishment to Ferrer's defender. I may mention that in

Ferrer's own deposition, as read to the court, there are one or two inaccuracies, quite trifling, and of no significance either for or against him, which we can only put down to defective reporting on the part of the officials. For example, the interview with the engraver is represented as taking place in the morning instead of the afternoon. It happens that these particular errors do not matter; but similar errors, at other points in the process, might have the most disastrous effect. One of the witnesses declared to me: "What we said was no more like what we were reported as saying than this is like this" — pointing to a bottle of cognac and a piece of money which happened to be on the table before us.

8. The growth of this legend is followed, step by step, in the third chapter of Dr. Simarro's monumental work on the Ferrer case — a chapter aptly entitled "The Snowball." At first, in the early days of August, "the ominously celebrated Ferrer" is merely suspected of having financed the rebellion, and a tale is told of his having cashed a cheque for 50,000 pesetas at the Credit Lyonnais — a tale wholly without foundation. A few days later, an emissary of the Catholic "Committee of Social Defence" goes to Madrid and gives it out in an interview that "el funestísimo Ferrer" "was not in Barcelona for nothing during the week preceeding the outbreak." So, by dint of sheer repetition, the legend goes on gradually establishing itself; but it is not until the end of August, as we shall see, that Ferrer finally blossoms out into the leader and director of the whole revolt.

9. Ferrer himself says the 11th; but I have seen a letter from Soledad Villafranca, dated the 13th, in which she speaks of the search having occurred "yesterday."

10. More than 392 and less than 400 miles.

11. The traces of this diligencia (that is the expressive Spanish term) are everywhere visible to this day, and I have examined them. The gravest complaints are made as to depredations committed by the invaders; but as their personal conduct is not german to the case, I say no more about it.

12. Letter to Charles Malato from the Carcel Celular, October 1, 1909 — Un Martyr des Retres, p. 48.

13. Ferrer is one of the commonest of Spanish names, being, in fact, I take it, the equivalent of Smith. The frequency of double names arises from the habit of adding the mother's name to the father's. The father's name is placed first, and is the actual surname. Ferrer noticed, not only that two of Galceran's names were the same as his own, but that all the initials were the same: in the one case, F.F.G., in the other case, F.G.F.

14. I have seen a letter from this Pierre, protesting that he never said anything of the sort; but this protest scarcely increases the manifest worthlessness of the evidence.

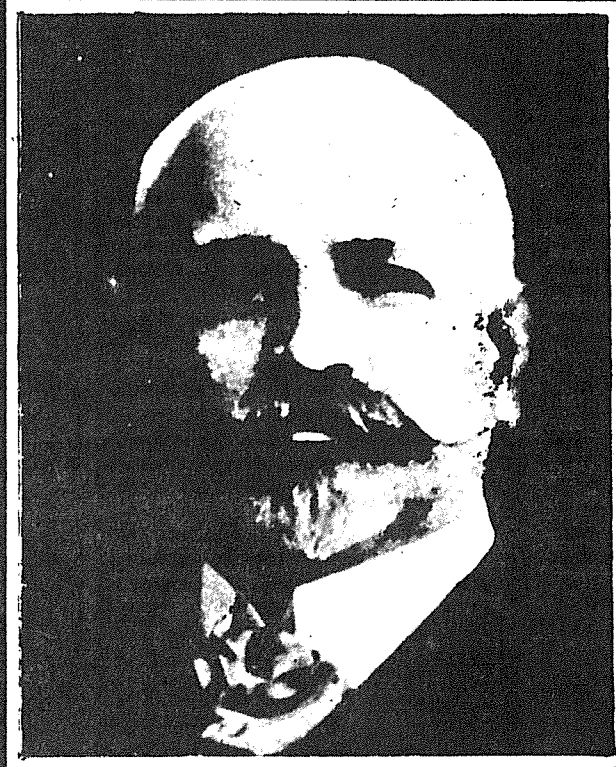
15. The following rule of the Sumario may be worth citing in this connection: "The accused makes his declaration without being placed under oath."

16. In this and another case of identification, the "three times" are specially insisted on. But surely anyone who can identify a man at once can do so three times.

17. I believe this is the correct form of the name, though it sometimes appears as "Colldefons" and "Coldefrons."

18. If the evidence of Colldefons were true, this would be no news to Ferrer, who must himself have returned quite recently from Barcelona. Again, if the evidence of both Colldefons and Llach were true, it would be strange that Ferrer should have said nothing to Llach as to his having taken part in the scenes of the "tragic night" in Barcelona.

19. Ferrer accused the police of having attempted to suborn his farm servant to give evidence against him. As a matter of fact, they tried to bribe the man to betray his master's hiding place — a legitimate proceeding, from their point of view. On the other hand, I think there is little doubt that they "found" the typewritten document — where they had placed it.



FERRERS LAST LETTERS

These letters of Comrade Ferrer, the first two of which were addressed to his friend, M. Naquet, president of the French Committee of Defence for Political Prisoners, were published in "L'Humanite" after having been smuggled out of the prison at Barcelona.

Prison Cell, Oct. 1 1909

"My Dear Friend - They are about to lift the secret why I have been confined here over a month, but I have not yet been permitted to read a letter or paper. I will try to recite my case to you.

From my letter of the 10th you know that I did not have the least knowledge of the intended general strike of the 26th April, designed as a protest against the war in Morocco, and I cannot understand how a rumour could be spread that I have provoked it

However that may be, I took no steps for protection feeling sure that as I had nothing whatever to do with the movement I would shortly be let alone; but behold, a member of my family came from Aletta terribly scared, having heard a young girl say that I was at Premia, leading a band of incendiaries burning a cloister. This made me reflect. There was no cloister burned at Premia. And I have never set foot in that village. So I prepared to leave the next day and visit some friends for a few days until the excitement could pass over, intending to return as soon as the times became more quiet

On the 29th of August I read in the papers that the public prosecutor of the Supreme Court, who had been at Barcelona investigating the situation, had said on leaving the palace,

where he had made his report to the king, that I had organised the revolutionary movement in Barcelona and the neighbouring villages.

I could not bear that any longer, and so, in spite of my friends' advice I resolved to present myself to the authorities to protest against such rumours and such affirmations, no matter from what sources they might come.

So I left my friend's home on the night of August 31st so as to arrive in Barcelona without encumbrance and to present myself voluntarily.

But I had failed to take into account the police in my own village, who arrested me in spite of my entreaties, and in taking me to a judge brought me before the governor of Barcelona.

The peasants, who all knew me, displayed a revolting savagery. One, especially, named Bernadas Miraltag, who tied my elbows with a cord, threatened several times to smash my skull with his gun, saying that I was the most wicked man on earth, according to what he had been told and read in all the papers. For six hours he kept watch over me in the village hall. Once I asked for a drink. Someone brought me a glass of fresh water, but Bernadas would not loosen my bonds sufficiently so that I could take the glass. He offered to pour it into my mouth himself. When I declined, he had them take away the water without letting me drink.

I tell you this so as to give you an inkling of the clerical spirit toward me. Well, next I was brought before the governor of Barcelona, who, in answer to my protests of innocence, said that reading of the school books of the Modern School might well be regarded as one of the prime causes of the uprising, therefore I was

responsible for the rebellion."

(Here follow some details as to his imprisonment in Barcelona. Ferrer continues:)

"We have now come to the first examination by Commandant Vincente Stivina y Fernandez, the judge charged with the inquiry. That was the day of my arrest, September 1, in the evening. In the course of that examination I received the impression that the judge was really moved by a genuine spirit of justice, and that I would not have to remain long in prison.

But four days passed without my being called again before the judge. On the 5th I was again summoned.

But it was not before the same judge. It was a commandant whose name was Valerio Pazo but who, I quickly discovered was Becerra del Toro, of evil memory. (Becerra del Toro was the prosecutor general who failed so signally in getting Professor Ferrer condemned to death two years ago).

His first action was to have two military surgeons make a searching examination of my body, to find out if I carried any traces of recent blows or wounds. They set to work examining me from head to foot so minutely that if unhappily in any way I had been injured recently, in all probability I would have been shot immediately.

On the 9th September came the first examination before this judge. He attached much importance to a biographical note sent in 1907 to Fournemont for publication in the 'Almanach of the International Federation of Free Thought.' As I had declared that I had nothing to do with any party, political or revolutionary, devoting myself solely to rational education, he seemed to think that he

had caught me in a contradiction, because in that note I made revolutionary declarations.

Later he alluded to several other documents of the same character, but I reminded him that all those matters had been discussed in 1906-7 during my first trial.

But then came a terrible thing – a revolutionary leaflet, which the police had found in my house, a sheet I had never seen before and which had the appearance of being very old. The judge stated that the police had found that the police had found that paper in the presence of my brother, my sister, and Mad-de Soledad.

I then told him that I did not know how that leaflet had got into my house, but I could affirm that I had never seen it. It spoke of the burning of cloisters, exterminating the congregations, and destroying the banks. Then I understood that it was intended to hold me responsible for all those events I had nothing to do with.

Ten days passed, and on the 19th September, coming before the judge, I again protested against that leaflet being used against me, declaring that its presence was owing to an error of the police or the judge, but he insisted that it had been found in the presence of my family.

The search of my home at Montgat on the 11th day of August in the presence of my family, by a lieutenant of the civil guards and two of the local authorities, did in reality bring no discovery until after twelve hours' searching, when they seized three things – a letter from Charles Albert, addressed to my brother; one letter from Anselmo Lorenzo, speaking of a loan of 900 pesetas, which I had given to *La Solidaridad Obrera* to hire an office, and a cipher for corresponding with Lerroux, many years old.

The investigation then turned upon an impassioned revolutionary appeal made by me during the Free Thought congress at Madrid, 1892. The judge thought he could see a connection between what I then wrote and what came to pass in 1909, seventeen years later.

The judge left, leaving me in great anguish. I made up my mind that at the next examination I would with my whole soul protest against the effort to find in the long ago of my life proofs to justify conclusions as to the present.

Today the judge informed me that he had finished the examination of the written evidence, that one of these days I would be tried by a military tribunal, and he asked me to select my counsel from a list of officers whom I did not know. I then said to him that I had a great deal to say about the activities of the police. The judge replied that military law bears no resemblance to the civil code.

So then it is all over, and I shall shortly be tried by persons, who, I very much fear, have not minds sufficiently free to quietly weigh the charges against me

If I can I shall continue tomorrow. At present I am too exhausted. I will only say that this month in seclusion has been very hard on me, in a fetid cell, without air or light, and on convict diet. One has to be pretty strong to stand it.

Good luck to all, all, all,

FRANCISCO FERRER

The second letter is as follows:

The Prison Cell, Oct 4, 1909

"My Dear Friend – Notwithstanding most absolute innocence, the prosecutor demands the death penalty, based on denunciations of the police, representing me as the chief of the world's Anarchists and directing the labour syndicates of France, and of conspiracies and insurrections everywhere, declaring that my voyages to London and Paris were undertaken for no other object.

With such infamous lies they are trying to kill me.

FERRER

"The messenger is about to depart and I have not time for more. All the evidence presented to the investigating judge by the police is nothing but a tissue of lies and calumnious insinuations. But no proofs against me having done nothing at all.

FERRER

The following additional letter from Ferrer is published in the latest edition of *L'Humanite* (October 1909). It is addressed to Mme. Charles Albert in response to a letter from her enclosing funds contributed in Paris for his defence.

The letter reads:

"Please to tell Charles that a further proof of the prejudice of the judges toward me is seen in the fact that they have refused me a writ to the prison authorities permitting me to purchase things essential to my personal welfare, such as postage stamps, paper, telegrams etc.

They have gone much farther than this and have refused to turn over to my lawyer a collection of the books of the Modern School, which I asked for, that I might expose the bad faith of the clericals on the subject of these schools. They have thus taken away from my lawyers the means of my defence.

In a previous letter I have given a full account of my trial, where they were unable to find any charge against me." (This letter has not yet been received.) "The judge has searched everywhere and found nothing against me. He was obliged at last to call upon the supreme prosecutor, who had charged me with being the director of the rebellion, and demanded proofs of him. He was obliged to admit that he had no proofs, but said that he had heard these things.

My lawyer is certain of my acquittal so far as the facts are concerned, but he fears very much that the court will be influenced by the evil atmosphere that has been created around me. Freedom of the press only exists for the reactionary papers that speak against me. So far as the liberals are concerned, they are able to say nothing.

All aid should be given to my lawyer in his efforts to secure publicity for the facts.

Best wishes to all.

FERRER



KROPOTKIN'S SPEECH

Memorial Hall, London, October 21, 1909

The execution of Ferrer has provoked in Europe and America a general feeling of indignation.

Even in St. Petersburg, under the bayonets of Nicholas II, a big indignation meeting was held at the University.

Were it not for the state of siege scores of similar meetings would have been held all over Russia. This striking, spontaneous outburst of anti-clerical feeling has filled with awe the ruling classes everywhere, and especially in this country. For the last few days the Conservative press of London has ventilated its fears and is trying to throw cold water on the movement of indignation. The Conservative papers are afraid of that indignation movement, and they do not conceal their fears. The *Morning Post* in its leader of October 18th, says:

"The significance of all this lies in the evidence which it supplies, that in several countries of Western Europe there is growing a class accustomed to feel itself hostile to society and the State, ready to give vent to that hostility in words and thereby propagate it, regardless of conse- (continued over the page)

quences."

The *Daily Telegraph* is still more outspoken:

"There has been nothing in our time" — we read in its leader of October 21st — "more instructive of its sort than the way in which the revolutionary and ruffianly elements" — it is you friends, who are the ruffians — "have combined to exploit the Ferrer tragedy. There has been in all this a characteristic mixture of frantic excitability, histrionic calculation, and of that sheer, subversive violence always ready to emerge" and so on.

"There is an evil spirit abroad" — the *Telegraph* continues — "a spirit of virulent vituperation and menacing incitement. . ."

"The Tsar was attacked" — laments the *Daily Telegraph* — "in every land, just as Italian socialists are attacking him now, just as the 'reds' of every shade in every country are assailing King Alphonso and his Ministers . . . Sentimental perversity can no further go, and it will destroy any society which indulges in it."

Well, friends, it is only this "sentimental perversity" which spared you the shame of seeing Nicholas II and his hangmen parading in the streets of London.

They learn nothing, these gentlemen — always at one with reaction, with the hangmen all over the world.

We have seen it just lately. When on the occasion of the visit of the Tsar, a handful of brave men in Parliament and in the Press protested against the admission of the hanging Tsar to these shores — what a chorus of blame came from the Conservative Press!

Let the hangman be a Sultan, or a Tsar, or a most Christian King, they are always ready to support him.

The arguments of the Conservative Press are twofold. One is, that the British Government has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Spain.

No right — they say, except when it comes to annex a Cyprus, to occupy an Egypt, or to conquer a Pretoria.

Friends! But is this the conception of the British nation?

No, I, an alien, loudly protest against this calumny. I know that the rule of the Conservatives for the last twenty years has done everything to destroy the good reputation of the people of Britain.

But the feeling remains, and last Sunday it has shown what it thought of the bloodthirsty priesthood of Spain.

The British nation has over and over again interfered with the internal affairs of Belgium, Italy, Austria, France, in the Dreyfus affair, Turkey, nay Spain itself. . . Not more than eight years ago, a British statesman in Trafalgar Square saw the Spanish Ambassador to ask him what truth there was in the statement of a Spaniard, released from Montjuich, who stated that he had been tortured in the Bastille of Alphonso XII. "The Spanish Ambassador agreed first, and refused next day, to have that man examined by two English doctors examined him, and reported to a Trafalgar Square meeting the nature of the horrible wounds inflicted on that man by the Montjuich Inquisition.

The agitation in England, Germany, and France became thereupon so violent, that finally sixteen men condemned to hard labour on the strength of testimony obtained in Montjuich under torture, were released.

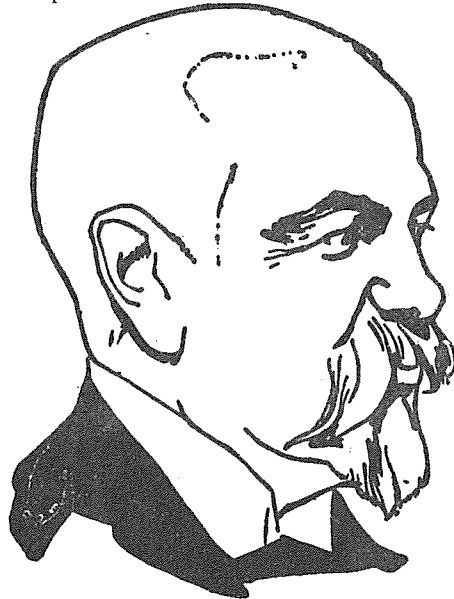
We greeted them here, two of them had been tortured. The Conservative papers and Sir Edward Grey speak of no interference. But were not the official festivities given to that perjurer Nicholas II an interference in the internal struggle

that goes on in Russia? The result of this patting on the back of Nicholas II you have seen today in the papers. A province is torn from Finland, whose constitution and integrity Nicholas II had sworn on his oath to maintain.

The second argument of the Conservative Press is this: "Ferrer was a bloodthirsty revolutionist and an Atheist who wanted to destroy everything in Spain."

If I had the time and the strength to tell you all that the Spanish Government have done in Barcelona for the last twelve years — Barcelona is the most intelligent centre of Spain for the development of its working class — if I could tell you all their infamies, you would rise in a fury, and say that it is a pity that the Barcelona uprising has not already overthrown that shameless Government.

Barcelona has suffered terribly from that Government. It was there that in 1896, they tortured the Anarchists; there that for years in succession their police agents — their Azeffs — deposited bombs in the working men's quarters, killing women and children, and accusing the Anarchists of doing this. Those of you who have read the English papers at that time, know that this was proved at the trial of Rull.



And now, this Government, abhorred and despised, opened a war in Morocco for the enrichment of the capitalists, which would cost scores of millions of pounds and thousands of human lives. This was the beginning of the Barcelona insurrection.

Ferrer is accused by the Conservative Press of having taken a part in the uprising at Barcelona. But Ferrer has written that he took no part whatever in it, and we must believe him.

Well, friends, perhaps we ought to regret it. If he, and scores of men from the 'intellectuals' in Barcelona had taken part in the movement of protest against the war, there would have been perhaps less monasteries burned, but the result might have been that the Montjuich Bastille of the present clerical and military Government would have fallen, perhaps even without the loss of a hundred and thirty men and women of the people, killed by the troops of Alphonso.

Friends, don't be misled by these haters of all liberty and progress.

The truth is that the clericals had sworn Ferrer's death, and they have attained their aim with the abetting of all those who have done their best to discredit the Ferrer movement in favour of Ferrer.

The fact is, that Ferrer was the soul of a great educational movement in Spain. His tastes and education did not lead him into the active agitation, but to educational work.

After his last visit here he sent me two sets of all his publications; one for the British Museum, one for me. It is all educational work of high value, not anti-religious, but severely scientific. Suffice it to say that Elisee Reclus — a man whose character and science Europe respects, wrote the prefaces to several of the educational books published by Ferrer.

To give you some idea of them, I take one of them. It is on the origin of Christianity. It is an analysis of the book of Malvert, *Science and Religion*, and the work of the great explorer of the history of Religions, Burnouf popularised.

The eastern Buddhistic origin of Christianity, and its relation to the worship of the Sun and its son, Agni, the Fire, are told in this booklet in a quite popular language.

And this book ends — with what? With an apology of Anarchism? of Tolstoyism? No! With an apology of Protestantism, which I for my account find even too enthusiastic.

"The eloquent appeals of the two new apostles, Luther and Calvin," Ferrer wrote:

"Provoked a true explosion of conscience among the Aryans. The Reform tried to reconstitute primitive christianity, freeing it from the extraneous elements which disfigured it. With Protestantism disappeared the sacerdotal hierarchy, . . . and all fetishist worship." Speaking of the ethics of Protestantism, Ferrer wrote:

"It is a collection of maxims legated by the philosophers of antiquity, supported by a deep observation of man, his needs, his mission, his duties, and his social organisations, for which modern science — hampered as it is by antagonism of interests, which presupposes the existence of privileged usurpers and of the disinherited ones, compelled to work, to exploitation, and to misery — was not yet able to substitute a superior ethic which would give satisfaction to both the egotistic and the altruistic feelings on the double basis of social hygiene and solidarity."

A few warm words follow, to tell what Protestantism has done for the progressive evolution of mankind. Then looking forward to centuries to come, Ferrer said:

"Protestantism will also go, like all other religions. When the great number will be better initiated to scientific knowledge, the necessity of an aid from the superior powers will be less felt. The necessity of religions will disappear the day that men will be reasonable enough to regulate themselves and their conduct in a social concord."

And he concluded the book with the words:

"This magnificent evolution of the human intelligence, full of mysticism at its beginnings, under the veil of religion, has progressed in advance of religion and notwithstanding it. Science tends now to acquire the supreme authority — Science and Truth, of which it is the expression and the revelation. To it will belong in the future the directing power in the world, instead of divinity. Science is the benefactor of the nations and the liberator of mankind."

These are the last words in that remarkable book, *"The Origin of Christianity,"* published in 1906 at Barcelona, and this is the book for the publication of which Ferrer has paid for his life under the bullets of four soldiers in the ditch of the prison of Montjuich.

Now he is dead, but it is our duty to resume his work, to continue it, to spread it, to attack all the fetishes which keep mankind under the yoke of the State, Capitalism, and Superstition.

RICARDO FLORES MAGON AND THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

by
**DAVE
POOL**



C.H-77

Ricardo Flores Magon, although almost unknown outside his native Mexico was the most important anarchist active during the Mexican Revolution, and through his influence large areas of land was expropriated by the peasants, many former slaves, and worked in common by them. He not only opposed and fought against the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz, but also against all the so called revolutionary leaders who came to power after the latter's downfall in 1911. Ricardo ceaselessly strove to direct the struggle of the working people away from mere helpless participation in a political revolution to creating for themselves a truly social revolution based on anarchist communism, where they could live and work without the recourse to leader or master.

Ricardo Flores Magon was born on September 16th 1874 in San Antonio Eloxochitlan, Oaxaca State, the second of three sons of a Zapotec Indian father and a Mestiza mother. While still young his family moved to Mexico City where Ricardo was able to attend the Escuela Nacional Primaria and later the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria.



Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon - 1917

It was while at this school, in May 1892, that he took part in his first protest against the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz for which he was charged with sedition and sentenced to five months imprisonment. The following year he graduated to the Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia and also joined the editorial group of the opposition newspaper *El Democrata*. Within a few months though the paper was banned by the dictatorship and its staff arrested. Ricardo however managed to escape and was obliged to hide with friends for several months before returning to school.

In 1895 Ricardo was admitted to the Mexican bar and practised law a little while continuing his studies at school until he was expelled in 1898 for his political activities. Together with his two brothers he then worked as a clerk in several law offices in order to save enough money to start a new opposition newspaper. With money thus saved they were able to bring out the first issue of *Regeneracion* on August 7th 1900 with Jesus, Ricardo's elder brother, and A. Horcasitas as editors. For the first few months of its life *Regeneracion* was careful not to openly attack the dictatorship, but in December of the same year it changed its position from being just a law journal to an "Independent Journal of Combat" and from then on vigorously attacked every aspect of the Diaz regime, based as it was on actual slavery and official corruption on the

grandest of scales. This change coincided with Ricardo becoming an editor in the place of Horcasitas.

In February 1901 Ricardo participated in the first Congress of Liberal Clubs held in San Luis Potosi. These clubs had been formed throughout the country at the initiative of Camillo Arriaga a mining engineer and former senator. Their aim was to combat the ever growing influence the churches exercised in the running of the country. It was here that Ricardo was to make his first open attack on the Diaz dictatorship. While the other delegates were content to make speeches of simply an anti-clerical nature, when Ricardo's turn came to speak he stood up and denounced the Diaz administration as a den of thieves. After that the wrath of Diaz was not long in descending. Ricardo and Jesus were arrested in the following May and sentenced to twelve months imprisonment for insulting the president. Despite the imprisonment of its editors *Regeneracion* continued, printed clandestinely with the younger of the Flores Magon brothers Enrique, taking over the editorship. Ricardo, though, still contributed articles written in

joined by Enrique and later by Librado Rivera, Juan Sarabia and Antonio I. Villareal all co-workers on *El Hijo del Ahuizote*.

Ricardo and his comrades first settled in Laredo, Texas where they found work as labourers. Some months later though he moved to San Antonio with Enrique and Juan Sarabia where they were able to resume the publication of *Regeneracion* in November 1904. However during the following months an attempt was made on the life of Ricardo by an assassin paid by the Diaz dictatorship, the attempt being averted only by the quick intervention of Enrique. Because of this the exiles were forced to move again, this time to Saint Louis, Missouri, where *Regeneracion* appeared again in February 1905.

While in Saint Louis Ricardo attended lectures given by Emma Goldman. Her ideas were not new to him, for as early as 1900 he had become familiar with the writings of Bakunin, Malatesta, Faure and Kropotkin, all of which he read with great enthusiasm, especially the latter; and it was through Ricardo that the anti-Diaz journal *Vesper* of Mexico City brought out *The Conquest of Bread* in booklet form in 1902. Through his contact with Emma Goldman, with whom he was later to become friendly, and the Spanish anarchist Florencio Bazzora, a former comrade of Malatesta, Ricardo was able to both expand and clarify his anarchist ideas.

In September 1905 Ricardo founded the Junta Organizadora del Partido Liberal Mexicano with himself as President, Juan Sarabia as Vice President, Antonio I. Villareal as Secretary, Enrique as Treasurer and Librado Rivera as a committee man. The function of the Junta was, and remained so until its disbanding in 1918, simply as a co-ordinating centre for liberal activities both inside and outside Mexico.

Less than a month after the founding of the Junta the offices of *Regeneracion* were raided by Pinkerton detectives. The presses and office equipment were taken and Ricardo, Enrique and Juan Sarabia arrested. Released later on bail the three were forced to flee to Canada fearing, not without reason, that they would be handed over to the Mexican authorities. Meanwhile a reward of \$20,000 was offered for the capture of Ricardo. While Ricardo was being harassed in Canada by Diaz agents the programme of the P.L.M. was published in July 1906. This programme was written after as many liberals as possible had been consulted about its contents. For example the section on labour was compiled after consultation with workers who had participated in the famous Canadian copper mine strike that had taken place hardly a month before the publication of the programme. Yet it was decidedly reformist in tone, even though it went far beyond the Mexican Constitution of 1917 (which was partly based on the PLM programme). While reformist though many of its fifty two clauses were very advanced for the time, they included the abolition of the death penalty, the suppression of compulsory military service, complete secular education for children, a maximum working day of eight hours, the restitution of communal lands to the villages and the protection of all indigenous races. Ricardo himself wrote the accompanying manifesto and the programme itself would no doubt have been a truly radical document had Juan Sarabia not moderated much of Ricardo's contributions.

In early September 1906 Ricardo and Juan Sarabia left Canada and went secretly to El Paso, Texas in order to finalise plans for an

his prison cell and smuggled out by a group of sympathetic prisoners. At the end of the year however *Regeneracion* was forced to cease publication.

On his release from prison in April 1902, Ricardo took over the editorship of the anti-Diaz satirical weekly *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, aided by Enrique; Jesus having had enough of illegality, abandoned the struggle to practice law. In September the offices of *El Hijo del Ahuizote* were raided by the police and the presses etc., confiscated. Ricardo and Enrique were arrested and sentenced to four months imprisonment after being held incommunicado for over a month in a military prison. *El Hijo del Ahuizote* was forced to close down but appeared again in November under the direction of Juan Sarabia. Ricardo and Enrique resumed work on the paper in January 1903 on their release from prison, until April, when the offices were raided for a second time. Now the entire editorial group of ten people were arrested and imprisoned for five months for "ridiculing public officials." Ricardo was again held incommunicado, this time for two and a half months. While in prison the Supreme Court of Mexico forbade the publication of any article written by Ricardo. On gaining his freedom at the end of 1903 and faced with the bars on his writings Ricardo was forced to leave Mexico and seek exile in the U.S., from where, or so he thought, he could continue the anti-Diaz struggle without persecution. In exile he was

armed uprising against the Diaz dictatorship, preparations for which had been going on for many months. Despite the arrest of Texas liberals by the U.S. authorities and the discovery of a large quantity of hidden arms, and the suppression of *Regeneracion*, which had been run by Librado Rivera in Ricardo's absence, the uprising began on September 26th 1906. The first armed PLM action was the taking of the main plaza of Jimenez, Coahuila by a group of thirty liberals. They managed to hold the town for a day before being forced to withdraw. Four days later three hundred liberals attacked Acayucan Veracruz. They were near to success when their leader was wounded and the ill armed liberals decided to withdraw. Several small scale actions took place in the north of the country but the liberals were soon forced into a merely defensive position by the *federales*. In October, Sarabia, who had crossed the border into Mexico was arrested in Ciudad Juarez and subsequently imprisoned by the dictatorship. On the same day the home of the Junta in El Paso was raided and all but Ricardo, who managed to escape by jumping from a window, were arrested. At the same time important documents on the PLM groups within Mexico together with the subscription list of *Regeneracion* were found and immediately handed over to the Mexican authorities. The dictatorship then began the systematic repression of liberals throughout the country. On their side of the border the U.S. authorities followed the same example.

Ricardo meanwhile, on the run with the price of \$25,000 on his head went first to Sacramento, then San Francisco, finally, after narrowly avoiding arrest several times, he settled in Los Angeles. There he was joined by Antonio I. Villarreal. Although he had been captured at El Paso, Villarreal had escaped as he was about to be handed over to the Mexican authorities. In June 1907, working clandestinely, they brought out the first number of *Revolucion* which replaced *Regeneracion*. Some weeks later they were joined by Librado Rivera. In August their hiding place was discovered and the three comrades were arrested *without a warrant*. During the arrest Ricardo was beaten unconscious when he tried to attract the attention of passers-by. The following day the "detectives" who had made the arrest, employees of the Furlong Detective Agency whose sole aim was the tracking down of the PLM activists for the Diaz dictatorship returned to the offices of *Revolucion* and removed all important letters and documents. *Revolucion* continued publication under the editorship of several comrades who were arrested one after the other until the journal was finally silenced in January 1908.

Ricardo, Enrique and Villarreal were tried in September 1907. The initial charge of "resisting an officer" was dropped and replaced with four other charges ranging from the murder of an unknown man in Mexico to the violation of the neutrality laws. One by one all the other charges were dropped leaving only the latter and for this "crime" the court decided that the three should be deported to Arizona where the offence was supposed to have taken place.

While in Los Angeles jail awaiting deportation Ricardo made the final preparations for a second uprising against the Diaz dictatorship, the plans being smuggled out of the jail by Ricardo's companion Maria Talavera. In June 1908 PLM groups rose up in the state of Baja California, Coahuila, Chihuahua and Tamaslipas. But despite the taking of the towns of Viesca

and Las Vacas, Coahuila, the latter being taken by a liberal force of only forty men against the local garrison of over a hundred *federales*, the uprising was again a military failure. After the rising followed the usual repression and at the request of the Mexican government Ricardo, Librado Rivera and Villarreal were held incommunicado in Los Angeles jail for several months.

In May 1909 Ricardo and his two comrades were deported to Arizona where they were sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment for the violation of the neutrality laws. While they were serving their time in Yuma and later Florence jail, the propaganda work of the PLM was carried out by Enrique and Praxedis G. Guerrero.

On their release from prison in August 1910 Ricardo, Librado and Villarreal returned to Los Angeles where the publication of *Regeneracion* was resumed in September, and the planning of a third uprising was started. While in prison, events in Mexico had given Ricardo much hope of the success of a new rising. The discontent of the people had manifested itself in many acts of petty revolt, and in May 1910 the town of Valladolid, Yucatan was taken by fifteen hundred armed peons and held for four days until retaken by a large force of *federales*. The following month the towns of Bernardino Contla, Tlaxcala was taken in the name of the PLM and held for a day.

Now Ricardo was convinced that any new uprising must be anarchist in nature, although until then he had been careful to avoid any mention of anarchism for fear of alienating people, or so he thought, from the PLM. In a letter to his brother and Praxedis Guerrero written in 1908 he said:

"... if we had called ourselves anarchists from the start, no one, or at best a few, would have listened to us. Without calling ourselves anarchists we have fired the peoples' minds with hatred against the owner class and government caste..."¹

Regeneracion which now had a circulation of about 30,000 was preparing the minds of the people for a revolution they would make without the need for leaders. In *To The Proletariat* Ricardo wrote:

"... Men of labour, friends, listen then. You must needs arise, but in full consciousness of the needs of an epoch, and just as urgent it is that your strong arms represent the spirit of the century. If you fail to be in it with your brains as well as your brawn, the cherished revolution we see approach will not differ in anything from the almost forgotten revolts fomented by the bourgeoisie and directed by military petty chiefs as pioneers for a conviction, but acted in the ignoble role of nobodies, fit for cannon food. You have fought in the past the revolutions for your masters; learn to fight the battle for your own selves.

Impress in your minds once and for all the truth, that to shed blood only to place in power another robber who oppresses the people is nothing but a crime, and such a crime will be accomplished by you again if you should take up arms for no other object than to unseat Diaz to put in his place another master..."²

In October the motto of the PLM was changed from Reform, Liberty and Justice to Land and Liberty. While the PLM were preparing for their plans for an uprising, in Texas, Francisco I. Madero was planning his revolution. Madero was from one of the most wealthy families in Mexico and had stood as the anti-re-electionist candidate against Diaz

in the 1910 presidential elections. Madero lost, or rather Diaz was declared the winner. Madero then protested that the elections had been rigged and was promptly imprisoned by Diaz. However he was able to escape and fled to the U.S. In Madero's revolution though, the PLM were to be ignored, despite their great knowledge of the anti-Diaz groups within Mexico. Yet during his pre-election campaign the preceding April he had gone to great lengths to make liberal groups believe that Ricardo supported his candidature and the PLM and the anti-re-electionists were working together. In addition he addressed a manifesto to the nation calling himself the "Provisional President" and claiming that Ricardo was the "Provisional Vice-President." He was careful to do this while Ricardo was still in prison and unable to refute these lies.

Madero's new found revolutionary ardour was very surprising considering that only four years before in 1906, he had refused to give either moral or financial aid to the PLM during their first anti-Diaz uprising, claiming that the uprising was unpatriotic, and that Diaz was not such a tyrant as the PLM made him out to be.

Now accomplishing a complete volte-face Madero timed his revolution to begin on November 20th 1910 and Ricardo advised all those PLM groups who were ready to time their uprising to coincide with the anti-re-electionist to work independently. While giving this advice though Ricardo continually clarified the relationship between the PLM and the Maderists:-

"... Governments have to protect the right of property above all other rights. Do not expect then, that Madero will attack the right of property in favour of the proletariat. Open your eyes. Remember a phrase, simple and true and as truth indestructable, the emancipation of the workers must be the work of the workers themselves..."³

Despite this warning though many PLM members joined Madero's movement, believing his earlier lies and failing to receive any clarification of the situation from the Junta. All this fell in with Madero's plans.

Madero's revolution began on the appointed date but met with near defeat. Groups that survived fled into the hills and began a guerrilla action until their numbers were of sufficient strength to attack major targets. The first independent actions taken by the PLM were the attacking of several towns in Northern Chihuahua by a group of liberals under the leadership of Praxedis Guerrero. Unfortunately Guerrero was killed while trying to take the towns of Janos on the last day of 1910. The death of this important organiser was a great loss to the Junta.

By the end of January 1911 PLM groups were active in the states of Sonora, Tlaxcala, Veracruz, Durango, Oaxaca and Chihuahua. In Baja California the town of Mexicali fell to a PLM group on January 29th and on February 5th a large PLM group under Prisciliano Silva took the town of Guadalupe, Chihuahua. On 14th Madero crossed the border into Mexico and assumed command of all revolutionary groups then engaged in the fighting. Madero's plans were upset though when the following day Gabino Cano, a PLM member who had been fighting with the Maderists decided to join Silva's column with all the men under his command. The united force would then undertake action independently of the Maderists. Before joining Silva, Cano wanted to take a number of wounded men over the border into the U.S. for medical treatment. Being inform-

of this Madero alerted the U.S. immigration authorities who arrested Cano for violating the neutrality laws. The following day Silva was arrested for refusing to recognise Madero as the "Provisional President". The day after Silva's group were disarmed and arrested after they had followed his example. On February 25th Ricardo denounced Madero's treachery in an article entitled, "Madero is a Traitor to the Cause of Liberty":—

"... The wolf has taken off his sheepskin and shown us his fangs and talons. . . Mexicans: your "Provisional President" as he styles himself has begun to deliver blows against freedom. What will happen when the "Provisional" becomes actual? . . ."⁴

The following day Antonio I. Villarreal deserted the PLM to join the Maderists, an act which hurt Ricardo deeply. Juan Sarabia joined Villarreal on his release from prison in June 1911.

The months that followed saw a great increase in PLM activities throughout the country, and in Baja California a large part of the state was under PLM control. To combat these advances Madero resorted once again to the same treachery he had practised on Silva, claiming that by operating independently PLM groups were "in rebellion against his government," and in Altar, Sonora twenty-eight liberals were murdered by Maderist soldiers.

In May a peace treaty was signed between Madero and Diaz and with the latter's resignation some days later Madero believed his political revolution had come to a victorious end. Not so Ricardo. For him the social revolution that he had for so long fought for was only beginning. He refused to accept Madero's treaty and PLM groups continued the struggle, this time against Maderist forces. On June 13th Madero sent Ricardo's eldest brother Jesus and Juan Sarabia to Los Angeles to induce Ricardo to lay down his arms. The mission was a failure. Ricardo refused, saying that until the land was distributed to the peasants and the instruments of production were in the hands of the workers, the Liberals would never lay down their arms.

The following day the offices of *Regeneracion* were raided and Ricardo, Enrique, Librado Rivera and Anselmo Figueroa were arrested and accused of violating the neutrality laws. Later Ricardo was freed on bail of \$2,500 which was raised by PLM groups around Los Angeles.

In September 1911 Ricardo issued a new manifesto to replace the 1906 programme. This new manifesto was uncompromisingly anarchist in content and in one of the most moving and practical examples of Ricardo's revolutionary writing. While recognising the great number of land expropriations that had taken place during the first months of the revolution, both under PLM propaganda and action, and the Mexican people's own natural anarcho-communism, the manifesto urged yet more revolutionary actions:—

"... expropriation must not be limited to taking possession of the land and the implements of agriculture alone. There must be a resolute taking possession of all the industries by those working in them, who should bring it about similarly that the lands, mines, the factories, the workshops, the foundries, the railroads, the shipping, the stores of all kinds and the houses shall be in the power of each and every one of the inhabitants, without distinction of sex . . ."

The manifesto ended:

"... Liberty and well being are within our grasp.

The same effort and the same sacrifices that are required to raise to power a governor — that is to say a tyrant — will achieve the expropriation of the fortunes of the rich keep from you. It is for you, then, to choose. Either a new governor — that is to say a new yoke — or a life redeeming expropriation and the abolition of all imposition, be that imposition religious, political or any other kind.

Land and Liberty!"⁵

The PLM, now resisting the new Madero administration with as much force as they had resisted Diaz, were joined in November 1911 by the Zapatistas, who rebelled against Madero when he failed to fulfil the promise he had made about the redistribution of land. The Zapatistas were the only revolutionary group that the PLM were to have any links with at all, although Zapata, in reality was a statist and not an anarchist. Yet his approach to the agrarian problems was truly radical. Under his influence much of the land in the state of Morelos was expropriated by the peasants and worked by themselves. In the very early days of the revolution Zapata had made contact with the PLM and soon after adopted the motto Land and Liberty. Ricardo's influence can be seen also in Zapata's *Plan de Ayala* which was based on the PLM manifesto of September 25th 1911. Ricardo's brother Enrique later explained the connections between the PLM and Zapata:

"... These Agrarians (Zapatistas) and the Liberals work together owing to the fact that the former are direct actionists, although they still think a government is needed . . . They go after the rich, the authorities and the priesthood. They too, as the Liberals, have burned to ashes the private property deeds as well as all official records; have thrown down that marked private properties; the jails have been destroyed and everything has been turned into the property of all.

So Liberals and Agrarians work in conjunction and good harmony, while the former propagate our principles and put them into practice amongst the latter to the extent that there are now several communities living practically in accordance with our theories. . ."⁶

In June 1912 Ricardo and the other Junta members were tried in Los Angeles for the alleged violation of the neutrality laws and sentenced to twenty-three months imprisonment. During their confinement *Regeneracion* continued publication, edited by a group which included Antonio de P. Araujo, Blas Lava and Teodoro Gaitan.

Ricardo again threw himself into the struggle on his release from prison in January 1914. In June of the same year, through Ricardo's initiative, the International Anarchist Congress that was to be held in London the following September decided to put the Mexican Revolution on its agenda, and it was hoped to send a representative of the Junta to participate and explain the Mexican situation fully. One of the reasons for this was to refute the very anti-Magonist attitude adopted by Jean Grave in *Les Temps Nouveaux* and Luigi Galleani in *Cronaca Sovversiva*. Unfortunately owing to the outbreak of war the congress never took place.

In 1915 Ricardo and the other Junta members together with their families and friends rented a small farm on the outskirts of Los Angeles, where they founded a small commune. Towards the end of the year *Regeneracion* resumed republication after it was forced, for financial reasons, to stop in December 1914. It was here that Ricardo wrote his first play, *Land and Liberty*, which

was first staged in Los Angeles at the end of the year.

In February 1916 Ricardo and Enrique were again arrested, this time for attacking the regime of Carranza. During their trial Ricardo was so ill that he could only attend the court to hear the sentence of twelve months imprisonment, Enrique receiving three years. The following month Ricardo was released on bail, which was put up by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, pending an appeal. During the remaining months of 1916 and all of 1917 Ricardo continued to bring out *Regeneracion*, although now only on an irregular basis, while recurring ill health forced him to stop writing for some of the time.

Ricardo was again arrested, together with Librado Rivera, in March 1918 after they had issued a manifesto to the Anarchists and Workers of the World in which they predicted the impending fall of the capitalist order, and urged all anarchists to prepare the people's minds for this great event. Charged with sedition under the espionage laws Ricardo was sentenced to a savage twenty years imprisonment and Librado to fifteen years.

While serving his sentence, first in McNeil Island prison and later in Leavenworth Penitentiary, Kansas (where he was regarded as the most dangerous prisoner in the prison) Ricardo's health began to deteriorate seriously and his eyesight began to fail. Despite this all medical treatment, other than the most basic was denied to him. In 1920 he was offered a pension by the Mexican Government which he declined to accept, saying that as an Anarchist he could not receive without shame and remorse money that had been stolen by the government from the poor.

In 1922, with the founding in Mexico of the anarcho-sindicalist CGT a campaign for the release of both Ricardo and Librado grew, and several strikes and the boycotting of U.S. goods took place. Unfortunately this action came too late. On November 22nd 1922 Ricardo was found dead in his cell. According to the prison authorities the cause was a heart attack, but it seems almost certain that he was in fact murdered.

Now offering no threat to the authority of the Mexican government the Chamber of Deputies offered to pay for the return of Ricardo's body to Mexico. This his companion and comrades refused, instead his body was transported by the Confederation of Railway Societies at their own expense. He was buried in Mexico City on January 23rd where a crowd of over ten thousand workers followed the coffin to the Panteon Frances. In 1948 Ricardo's body was exhumed and re-interred in the Rotunda de los Hombres Ilustres.

Dave Poole.

Notes:

1. Letter written on June 13th 1908 reprinted in Manuel Gonzalez Ramirez, *Epistolario y textos de Ricardo Flores Magon* Mexico D.F. 1964 pp 202-209.
2. *Regeneracion*, September 3rd 1910.
3. *Regeneracion*, December 10th 1910.
4. *Regeneracion*, February 25th 1911.
5. *Regeneracion*, September 25th 1911.
6. Letter of Enrique Flores Magon dated October 31st 1916 printed in *Freedom*, February 1917.

November Publication!

LAND AND LIBERTY! — Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution — Ricardo Flores Magon, Cienfuegos Press, Orkney, £2.35 p/b, £5.00 h/b (*Free to C.P. subscribers!*) (1980pp).



ERIC MUEHSAM 1878 1934 THE MAN AND HIS WORK

THE PUBLIC IS UNAWARE OF THE LIFE AND WORK OF ERICH MUEHSAM, the anarchist militant whom Rudolf Rocker called "an unshakable opponent of every tyranny". Some works devoted to the history of contemporary Germany recall, however, that he played an important role in the revolutionary Bavaria of 1918–1919, and that he was one of the first victims of the Hitler regime.

Erich Muehsam is one of the most interesting figures of the German libertarian movement. He was born in Berlin on 6 April 1878. He came from a Jewish family. His father was a pharmacist. The family settled down in Luebeck where the young Erich went to secondary school. His spirit of revolt and taste for action soon showed themselves. He published, in the town's social-democratic newspaper, several anony-

mous articles on life at boarding school. His descriptions were not academic but just and his criticisms did not spare anybody. His articles caused quite a stir. He was found out and expelled from school for his "socialist activities". However, he graduated at Parchim. His father advised him to follow in his footsteps, and he was for a while an apprentice then an assistant pharmacist.

He soon met Gustav Landauer, the famous writer and anarchist militant.² He became his friend and disciple. Both belonged to the New Community, a literary liberal group which had strong influence on the intellectual life of Germany. Apart from Gustav Landauer and Erich Muehsam, this cultural circle included the Hart brothers, Peter Hille, Paul Scheerbart. Muehsam travelled to Switzerland, Italy, Austria and France. In 1909 he settled down

in Munich where he earned his living by contributing to various newspapers, notably *Jugend* and *Simplicissimus*. In April 1911 he created and activated the monthly review *Kain*, which lasted until the first world war (a new series appearing from November 1918 until April 1919). During the ten years which preceded the war, he also published many other works: an essay on homosexuality, children's stories, collections of poems, and plays.

In January 1918 the workers in the munitions factories decided to demonstrate against the war. They launched a general strike which extended throughout Germany. This action, however, did not last long. Muehsam had approved of this kind of struggle and had addressed the Krupp factory workers at Munich. Furthermore, he had refused to be recruited into the auxiliary patriotic service which had just been established. The police arrested him and sent him under house arrest to Trauenstein. He was released on 5 November. During the three days which followed his release he delivered anti-war speeches in front of the Munich barracks.

The revolutionary wave broke all over Germany. During the night of 7-8 November, the king of Bavaria abdicated and the republic was proclaimed. The independent socialist Kurt Eisner formed a coalition government with the majority social-democrats. He relied on the workers' councils and broke away from the central power of Berlin. He conceded, however, to the pressures from his right wing and was soon practising a

policy of concessions that in turn brought him hostility from the far left.

Muehsam had restarted the publication of the review *Kain* and founded the Union of Revolutionary Internationalists. He was a member of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council which soon transformed itself into a Central Revolutionary Committee. Gustav Landauer and the poet Ernst Toller were also members. On 7 December, 400 men led by Muehsam and the sailor Rudolf Eglhofer, one of those mainly responsible for the Kiel mutiny, occupied the Munich press buildings. They tried, unsuccessfully, to obtain the resignation of the Interior Minister, Auer, who represented the right wing of the Bavarian government.

In his monumental history of the German Army, Benoist-Mechin recounts this episode as follows:

"Disquieted by the growing progress of the counter-revolution, and inspired by the example of their Berlin rivals, Eglhofer and Muehsam decided to take action before it was too late.

"In the night of 7 December, they attempted, on their own initiative, a coup. Accompanied by 400 armed men, they invaded the editorial premises of the principal newspapers of Munich and declared the installation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Eisner, woken in the middle of the night, dressed in great haste and went to the spot to try to calm things down and to oppose the violence. Impressed by his courage,



Erich Muehsam with fellow revolutionaries – Berlin, 1928

the red guards went to Auer, at the Ministry of the Interior, where they broke down the doors. Amid the hue and cry they insisted on the minister's resignation. At revolver point Auer was obliged to sign the following declaration:

"In the night of 7 December I was attacked by 400 armed men, and was compelled to give up my commission. Under duress I declare my resignation as Minister of the Interior."

"Then the troops loyal to the Government jumped into lorries and drove to the Ministry of the Interior, rushed up the stairs, entered Auer's office, dispersed the extremists and finally became masters of the situation."

On 11 December, the Spartacists founded their first Munich group. Until the spring of 1919, they had less influence in Bavaria than in other German states. During many months, the presence and action of the anarchists constituted an obstacle to their efforts in this region. On 29 December 1918 the Spartakusbund merged with the Left Radicals and became the Communist Party of Germany.

On 10 January 1919, fearing trouble during the legislative elections, Kurt Eisner had Muehsam and eleven other revolutionary militants arrested.

The Workers' Council made him release them the following day. Polling day was 12 January.

The independent socialists were defeated in every constituency. They received only 2.5 per cent of the votes. The electorate voted en masse for the candidates of the majority social democrats (centralist tendency) and for the Bavarian People's Party (catholic). Encouraged by these results, the bourgeoisie took a harder line and tried to overthrow the government. On 21 February, when going to present his resignation, Kurt Eisner was assassinated in the street by a young officer, Count Arco-Valley. The popular conscience made a martyr of him; about a hundred thousand attended his funeral.

On the same day as his death, the Central Revolutionary Committee declared a state of siege and a general strike throughout Bavaria. Furthermore, a new government was immediately formed, presided over by the majority socialist Hoffman. Fearing a trial of strength, he made a few concessions to the extreme left who were soon to find them insufficient. At the beginning of April, the workers' councils of Augsburg launched a political strike, of which Muehsam was the protagonist. This action rested on the following watchwords: unlimited dictatorship of the proletariat, creation of a republic of councils, alliance with soviet Russia and soviet Hungary, breaking off of relations with the central government of Berlin, formation of a revolutionary army.

Several towns in Bavaria joined the movement. Seconded by Gustav Landauer and Ernst Toller, Erich Muehsam invited the Central Revolutionary Committee to proclaim without delay the republic of councils. The proposition was adopted by 234 votes to 70. The communists voted against because they judged it premature. They estimated that the economic and political conditions were not yet ready for the realisation of such a project.

The Bavarian republic of councils was proclaimed during the night of 6-7 April. Hoffman and his cabinet took refuge in Bamberg, whence they organised a counter-offensive. At Munich, a council of peoples commissioners was immediately formed. Ernst Toller was its president. Gustav Landauer became commissioner of public instruction. Despite the pleas of his friends Muehsam accepted only a secondary post. The new government had a brief existence. It lasted only six days. This short period was however the reign of pure idealism. It was described by Erich Otto Volkman as follows:

"Toller and Muehsam establish the principles of the new art. This art must come into the service of the revolutionary socialist ideals, must impregnate uniformly all the manifestations of the human spirit, architecture, town planning, sculpture, literature, painting and journalism, and lead men to a superior order of civilisation. The theatre must belong to the people. 'The world must flourish like a meadow upon which each can make his harvest.'"

"Landauer reforms the educational system. He declares: 'Everyone will work at what he thinks he is good at; all compulsion is abolished, the juridical spirit is gone.' The teachers and civil servants in charge will be dismissed as soon as possible, exams and university degrees will be reduced to the minimum. Any civilian of eighteen is entitled to attend university. The teaching of history, that enemy of civilisation, is forbidden."

"A people's commissioner appointed to the housing department orders the requisition of all dwellings on Bavarian territory. From now on each family will be allowed only one living room, with kitchen and bedrooms."

"Other measures are aimed at integrated socialisation, with the complete renovation of the financial and currency systems."

Some initiatives were excellent. Others lacked realism. Despite the good intentions of its protagonists, the Bavarian republic of councils was not established on solid ground. As Ernst Toller later recalled, it also had to face a lot of practically insuperable obstacles:

"The inadequacy of its leaders, the opposition of the Communist Party, the disunity which reigned among the socialists, the disorganisation of the administration, the increasing scarcity of food, the confusion of the soldiers, all these components contributed to its fall."

On 13 April, the first government of the councils was overthrown by the troops of the Hoffman cabinet, who had succeeded in regrouping. One part of the Munich garrison, helped by the republican guards (majority socialists), occupied the principal public buildings of the Bavarian capital. Muehsam and twelve people's commissioners were arrested and taken under escort to Ebrach prison, near Bamberg. The same day the workers and soldiers, led by Ernst Toller, defeated the counter-revolutionary army. In the confusion which followed a new government of councils was formed under the aegis of three Russian communists: Levine, Levien, and Axelrod. They kept Landauer away from any responsibility. Toller was too popular to be completely set aside and was nominated as commander-in-chief of the north sector of Munich. The military supreme command was entrusted to the sailor Eglhofer. A few days later, Hoffman reassembled his troops and sent them in the direction of the Bavarian capital. Toller smashed this second counter-revolutionary offensive at Dachau on 16 April.

Hoffman and the members from his cabinet then appealed for help from the central government of Berlin. Gustav Noske, the Minister of National Defence, agreed to come to their aid and supervised the operations himself. He sent to Bavaria a considerable and well-equipped army. The generals von Luettwitz and von Oven were in command. The main attack started on 27 April. The revolutionary troops resisted bravely but could not contain the enemy advance. On the first of May, the government army occupied Munich and started a severe repression. There were about seven hundred executions. Landauer, Eglhofer and Levine were among the first victims. Axelrod and Levien fled to Austria before the capture of the town. As for Toller,

he was arrested and sentenced to five years' gaol. He was granted a relatively mild sentence because he had prevented the execution of several counter-revolutionary prisoners.

The trial of Muehsam and twelve of his comrades took place in July at Munich. It lasted eight days. The court martial condemned Muehsam to fifteen years' detention. He was sent to prison at Ansbach then to Niederschoenfeld. During his imprisonment he wrote *Homage to Gustav Landauer*, some poems and his famous drama *Judas* which was to appear later on in the repertoire of Erwin Piscator.

As with Ernest Girault and so many other libertarian militants, Erich Muehsam believed that the October revolution would reconcile marxism with anarchism. In 1920, he wrote:

"The theoretical theses and practices of Lenin on the achievement of the revolution and of the communist tasks of the proletariat have given to our action a new base. . . No more insuperable obstacles to a unification of all the revolutionary proletariat."

His illusions were short lived. After the crushing of Kronstadt and of the Makhnovists, he understood that it was impossible to reconcile the differences between the two currents of the working class movement. Until the end of his life, however, he tried to unite their struggles in the fight against the bourgeoisie and national socialism. For propaganda purposes the communists presented him as their fellow traveller. They exploited with success his good will and his conciliatory attitude.

Muehsam was granted an amnesty on 21 December 1924. Thousands of Berlin workers were waiting for him at the station the following day. For six months he travelled across Germany and spoke on behalf of political prisoners. After that he helped individual cases and took up more particularly the defence of the famous militant communist Max Hoelz who had been sentenced to life imprisonment. He also took part in the campaign to free Sacco and Vanzetti. In October 1926 he founded the monthly review *Fanal*, which lasted five years. He also created his own publishing house and published many works: his memories about the Bavarian councils republic, a recital of his literary encounters, an essay on communist anarchism. . . up until the advent of the Third Reich he attended many meetings and urged the German workers to unite against national socialism.

On 28 February 1933, a few hours after the burning of the Reichstag, he was arrested when he was getting ready to leave Germany. He spent time in several of Hitler's gaols: Lehrterstrasse prison (Berlin), Sonnenburg camp, Ploetzensee prison (Berlin), Oranienburg concentration camp. Nazi propaganda blamed Muehsam for the execution of twenty-two hostages at Munich on 30 April 1919. As he pointed out to his executioners, this accusation did not stand up to the facts: he was arrested and taken to prison at Ebrach on 13 April. This legend (of the hostages) was used as a pretext to justify treatment of the worst kind. Despite humiliations and tortures, Erich Muehsam kept a very dignified attitude. His agony lasted seventeen months. He was assassinated at the camp of Oranienburg during the night of 9-10 July 1934.

The nazis claimed that he committed suicide. Many details and many testimonies proved that he was coldly killed by the SS. He was buried on 16 July 1934 in the cemetery of Dahlem.

The same day his companion left Germany and took refuge in Czechoslovakia. A few months later she was invited to the U.S.S.R. She took with her all her husband's manuscripts as she was promised that an edition of all his works would

be published. She had the imprudence to give these documents to the Soviet archives where they are probably still kept. The censorship allowed the publication only of some poems and literary memoirs. Zensl Muehsam was not deceived for long and showed her disappointment. During the Stalinist purges of 1936, she was arrested and condemned to eight years' of hard labour and deported.⁷ She only left the hell of a concentration camp fifteen years later. She was then gravely ill and starting to lose her mind. She was sent to East Germany where she received a few medals and a pension. The Pankow regime made her sign documents and used her name on many occasions. She died in East Berlin on 10 March 1962.

The history of the German libertarian movement has still to be written. It is however surprising to note that in most books on anarchism the names of Gustav Landauer and Erich Muehsam are never mentioned. These two revolutionary militants played an important role that seems worthy of acknowledgement. Their main works deserve to be translated and distributed. They would, now, constitute an excellent instrument for reflection and discussion. Thanks to the recent work of a few comrades the life and works of Gustav Landauer were rescued from obscurity. We hope that it will be the same with Erich Muehsam.

Roland Lewin

NOTES

- (1) This study appeared previously in *Recherches Libertaires* (No. 4, Sept. 1967) and *Volonté* (Vol. XX, No. 11, Nov. 1967), and as a supplement to *Le Monde Libertaire*, No. 143 (June 1968).
- (2) See especially: "Gustav Landauer et la regeneration social, by Rene Forain, *Le Monde Libertaire*, No. 125 (Sept.-Oct. 1966), "La Revolution et l'esprit unifiant" by Gustav Landauer, *Le Monde Libertaire*, Nos. 126 (November 1966) and 127 (December 1966); "Gustav Landauer et la Revolution allemande," *Le Monde Libertaire*, No. 128 (Jan. 1967); "Gustav Landauer", by C.W. *Recherches Libertaires*, No.1 (Dec. 1966). The principal work by Gustav Landauer has been re-edited: *Aufruf zum Sozialismus* (Call to Socialism), Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt-Main, 1967, 195 pages (with a preface by Heinz-Joachim Heydorn).
- (3) Benoist-Mechin: *Histoire de l'armee allemande* Vol. 1, "L'effondrement (1918-1919)". Editions Albin Michel, Paris, 1964, 379 pages.
- (4) E.O. Volkman: *La revolution allemande*. Librairie Plon, Paris, 1933, 310 pages.
- (5) Ernst Toller: *Eine Jugend in Deutschland*. Querido Verlag, Amsterdam, 1933, 293 pages. This autobiographical work is also to be found in the selected works of Ernst Toller published in one volume by Rowohlt in 1961. *I was a German: an autobiography*, Ernst Toller, trans. by Edward Crankshaw, John Lane The Bodley Head, London, 1934, 298 pages plus X prelims.
- (6) *Bulletin communiste*, 22nd July, 1920. Cited by Pierre Broue: *Le parti bolchevique* (history of the C.P. U.S.S.R.). Edns. Minuit, Collection "Arguments", Paris, 1963, 628 pages.
- (7) Consult on this subject the writings of Alexandre Weissberg (*L'accuse*; preface by Arthur Koestler; Editions Fasquelle, 1953; 591 pages) and of Margarete Buber-Neumann: *Deportee en Siberie*; afterword by Albert Beguin; Editions de la Baconniere et du Seuil, collection "Cahiers du Rhone", Paris, 1949, 255 pages. Also "How the Berlin journal of the Unified Socialist Communist Party, New Germany, tries to distort the fate of Zensl Muehsam", *Le Libertaire*, No. 185 (10 June 1949).

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- La Revolution Proletarienne*, No. 4, April 1925.
- Le Nouvel Age*, No. 11, Nov. 1931.
- Le Libertaire*, Nos. 391 (24 March 1933), 422 (3 Aug. 1934) and 435 (8 Feb. 1935).
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(Translated by A. and J.W.)

THE MIASNIKOV MEMOR- ANDUM

In his *Guillotine at Work*, Gregory Maximoff explodes the myth that Stalin betrayed the Russian Revolution because he did not follow Lenin's example. His massively documented book establishes the incontestable fact that Lenin, not Stalin, was the real architect of the counter-revolution: that Lenin was directly responsible for the massacre of the Kronstadt sailors, the exile, persecution and murder of political prisoners, the atrocities against workers and peasants, and the enslavement of the Russian people. All these crimes, in addition to Lenin's purge of dissident members of the Russian Communist Party, was carried forward on a wider scale by his disciple Stalin with his liquidation of the old Bolsheviks, the notorious Moscow Trials, persecution of tens of thousands of anonymous party members, etc.

In this connection Maximoff discusses the persecution of Gabriel Miasnikov and the C.P. organisation in Motovilikh (Perm Province), headed by him. The worker Miasnikov, one of the oldest and most respected members of the Russian Communist Party, was sincerely devoted to the emancipation of the workers. Miasnikov could not tolerate the abandonment of the original 1917 principle of democracy within the Party; the domination of the Party by Lenin's apparatus; the growing power of the Party oligarchy and the all powerful Central Committee. In Petrograd, Miasnikov witnessed the moral corruption of the privileged layers of the Party, their bourgeois style of living, the drunken debaucheries of Zinoviev and other Party leaders, and inevitably, the total divorce of the Party from the workers and peasants.

In 1920 in a massively documented memorandum, addressed to Lenin and the Central Committee of the Party, Miasnikov exposed these violations. Miasnikov disagreed with Lenin's reply. Since Lenin broke off all correspondence, Miasnikov published, in pamphlet form, (500 copies exclusively for C.P. members) the memorandum, Lenin's letter and Miasnikov's recommendations. To make the meaning clearer it was necessary to edit the following extracts from the pamphlet cited by Maximoff:

"When I came to Petrograd the Press boasted that the hard times were over. 'The sleeper was awakening' Petrograd industry was reviving, etc.

But... upon closer examination, I began to see that the propaganda machine had deliberately projected a totally false picture of the real situation. Mills and factories were frequently on strike; the workers no longer trusted the communists. They felt it was not *their* government; that it was something remote from them; not in the least responsive to their needs. To get any thing at all they must exert constant pressure on the government..."

"... The government blamed the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionist Parties for the strikes Italian style [a reference to the occupation of the factories in Italy, 1920.] The Mensheviks and Social-Democrats were arrested on the pretext that in so doing, the communists were 'saving' us the workers from their allegedly 'seditious propaganda'. The strikes continued in spite of the repressions..."

"... In Moscow, Petrograd, in the Ural regions, in the factories, the workers now show their absolute distrust of the communists. Groups of ordinary workers gather informally to discuss their problems. But as soon as a communist approaches, the groups scatter or change the subject. In the Izhorshy plant the workers bar all outside communists from their meetings including those working in the plant... On the eve of what was virtually a general strike in Petrograd [just before the Kronstadt revolt, March, 1921] we [the Party] did not even know that the strike was imminent. This in spite of the fact that we had communists in every department... What does this mean? It means that the working class has fenced itself off from the Communist Party by erecting an impenetrable wall of secrecy. The Party is no more aware of what the workers are up to than were the Czar's secret police... You [Lenin] argue that the workers have not the slightest reason to distrust the communists and maintain that the workers are allowed full freedom of the press and other civil liberties. I must tell you plainly that this is not true. The workers hate the Party because the very same measures it invoked against the bourgeoisie in 1918-1920 are now [1921] being inflicted upon the working class... This situation must not be tolerated..."

"... If an ordinary rank-and-file Party member

refuses to swallow the Party line, dares voice an opinion of his own, his comrades ridicule him, taunt him: '... so you're a wise-guy - a know it all? Wouldn't Lenin have come to this idea if it were timely, without advice from you? Conceited ass! Do you think that you are really smarter than Lenin?...' "

"During the three district Party conferences, comrade Zinoviev, in the presence of many comrades, warned me: 'You'd better stop talking or we will have to expel you from the Party'... Anyone who ventures a critical opinion of his own is reviled as a "counter-revolutionary" Menshevik or Social-Revolutionist with all the sadistic consequences such an accusation entails - expulsion from the Party, arrest or worse..."

"Life is unbearably complicated by red tape. In soviet institutions people trying to see important officials must run the gauntlet, be screened by hordes of minor bureaucrats..."

Miasnikov is shocked by the moral 'disintegration' of the top Party leadership. "... one hand washes the other is the motto of the upper strata of the Party [actually an exclusive fraternity protecting and promoting the privileged status of the bureaucracy]. Political 'pull' is essential for anyone attaining office. Drunkenness is rife. The notorious Astoria [Petrograd hotel for Party officials], guarded by machine guns, is a sporting resort for Party chiefs..."

Miasnikov tells Lenin that he fails to grasp the significance and the root cause of the Kronstadt revolt. "For you, Kronstadt is a comparatively minor incident: just a few hundred communists against us. But whose fault is it that the higher-ups in the Party do not relate to the mass of the people or to the rank-and-file communists? Whose fault is it that the friction sparks violent outbursts like Kronstadt, the strikes, the peasant revolts?"

"... This situation provides the background for the emergence of a special type of communist psychopaths. His post depends upon his ability to obey and flatter his superiors. Whether he relates to the workers or not is of little concern to him..."

"... Party members are permitted to hint only of very minor, unintentional, harmless mistakes. But they had best remain silent about major, serious violations involving the credibility and infallibility of the Party or the State..."

"... It stands to reason that workers' democracy presupposes not only the right to vote, i.e. ratify the decisions of the leaders, but also real freedom of speech and press. If workers are to govern the country and manage the factories there must be full freedom... freedom of speech, civil rights for all, from monarchist to anarchist... such as the world has never seen before..."

[Miasnikov also demanded the abolition of the death penalty.]

Miasnikov counsils Lenin to trust the workers and the peasants. The reconstruction of Russia depends upon "... the working class and the peasantry... to believe that without the active co-operation of both it is possible to restore the productive forces of the country and create even a minimum of material welfare... is to put our faith in communist saviours who will protect us from all misfortunes... you workers and peasants, stay put. Don't strike. Don't rebel... trust your leaders. They are fellow workers and peasants just like you. These nice people will manage everything so well that you will, without realising it, miraculously find yourself in the communist paradise..."

"The leaders argue that if we grant freedom of speech to all, everything, that has hitherto been hidden from the masses of the people and the enemies of the Soviet Union will be revealed... We contend that the masses know all too well from their own bitter experience that there

are revolts, strikes and disorders. They don't get their information second hand from the Press. They know more about what is actually happening than the provincial officials of the Cheka. The Cheka arrests people for spreading 'false rumours', but the people know that the 'rumours' are true. . . they don't believe the papers. . . those who are afraid to let the people speak out always see counter-revolution everywhere. . ."

"To this Lenin replied:

' . . freedom of the Press in the Soviet Union, when we are completely surrounded by bourgeois enemies, means freedom for the bourgeoisie. . . To grant freedom to the bourgeoisie is to commit suicide, and this we will not do. . . I hope that after you will have overcome your panic you will set yourself to work, help maintain connections with the non-party people; find out how effectively the Party people are doing their work. . . in this field there is no end of work. And this is how these defects should be treated and gradually corrected. . . It cannot be done by filling your head with silly notions like 'freedom of the press' and similar grandiloquent but empty phrases. . ."

Miasnikov retorted: ". . . words, words, and more words. You yourself must realise that this empty verbiage of yours cannot be taken seriously. . . Your letter is strongly worded, but far from convincing. You say that I want freedom of the Press for the bourgeoisie. Not so. On the contrary, I want freedom of the Press for myself, a proletarian who never had anything; a proletarian who has been in the party for fifteen years in *Russia* not *Abroad*. And while you and the other leaders were safely abroad I spent eleven and a half years, before the 1917 Revolution, in prisons at hard labour with a total of seventy-five days in hunger strikes. I was mercilessly beaten and subjected to other tortures. . . I escaped, not abroad, but for Party work here in *Russia*. To me, one can 'grant' at least a little freedom, at least within the Party. Or must I leave or be expelled from the Party as soon as I disagree with your policies? . . . Such treatment evades but does not tackle our problems. . ."

" . . . To break the grip of the international bourgeoisie is all very well. But the trouble is that while you lift your hand against the bour-



Russia - 1917

geoisie, you also strike the worker. What class now supplies the greatest number of people arrested on charges of 'counter-revolution'? Of course, the workers and the peasants. There is no communist working class. There is just the working class - pure and simple. . ."

" . . . Don't you know that workers are in jail because they talk the way I do? That bourgeois people are not arrested on such charges for the simple reason that they are never concerned with such questions? If I am still at large it is only because of my reputation as a communist who suffered for my communist ideas. . . Moreover, the workers know my record. Arrest would antagonise them. Were it not for these facts, were I just an ordinary anonymous worker in some factory, where would I be now? Undoubtedly in the clutches of the Cheka: or I would be killed on the pretext that I was trying to escape . . . 'escaped and shot to death'. . . like Rosa Luxemburg, like Karl Liebknecht. Again, I repeat you raise your hand against the bourgeoisie, but it is I who am spitting blood, and it is we, the workers, whose jaws are being smashed. . ."

This reply sealed the fate of Miasnikov. Lenin was not the type to allow back talk from people he regarded as "inferiors". On August 23, 1921,

the Central Committee of the Communist Party revoked Miasnikov's right to "proclaim his views at official meetings of the Party." He was transferred from his base of support in Motolvilka and placed under the surveillance of the Central Committee in Petrograd. Six months later, on February 22, 1922, Miasnikov was officially expelled from the Party for ". . . anti-Party activity and infraction of Party discipline." But Miasnikov was not intimidated. In 1923 or 1924 he organised, in opposition to the Party, *The Worker's Group*. He was arrested and jailed.

Available information, though not specific, intimates that Miasnikov succeeded in escaping. He made his way to Constantinople and on November 11, 1927, sent a letter to the Russian section of the Industrial Workers of the World (unpublished) in which he wrote:

" . . . Since 1922 I have been continually harassed, sometimes by the G.P.U. (successor to the Cheka) or by the Intelligence departments of foreign governments. . . " Miasnikov left Constantinople and settled in Paris in 1927 where he remained until 1945 or 1946 when he returned to Russia, never to be heard from again.

Sam Dolgoff

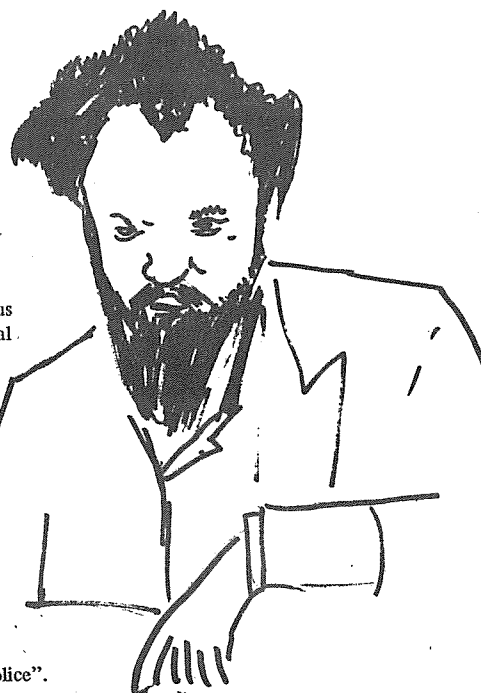
Stepnik

Portrait of a Nihilist

Sergei Mikhailovich Kravchinskii (also known as Stepniak) was born in 1853, in Southern Russia, where his father was a military surgeon. At the beginning of 1860 he entered the St. Petersburg Artillery School, passing out in 1868 when he was appointed officer of the artillery battery at Kiev. After about a year he became a student at the St. Petersburg Forest Institute, where he renewed his contacts with the Artillery School, and organised among the pupils several groups with a view to self-education, delivering lectures on history and political economy. Around him formed the nucleus of a small group called the "Artillery Society", almost all members of which took an active part in the revolutionary movement. It was here that he was first introduced to Bakunin's writings, and where he helped to distribute the periodical *Narodnoe Delo*. In 1872 he joined the Chaikovskii Circle, and began his active revolutionary career as an agitator.

During his early life he was greatly influenced by the radical egalitarian sentiments of some of the small Russian protestant groups, and he wrote one or two admiring critiques of contemporary religious organisations, which he believed would be potential sources of revolution. He used his knowledge of religion and his familiarity with the Bible as agitational tools, adapting biblical quotations, when speaking to peasants, to prove that they should start the revolution.

It was at this time that Stepniak first worked with Kropotkin, who describes Stepniak as being completely unconcerned about his own security, "the result of a complete absence of fear", although he was extremely careful not to compromise others. He became very well known for his propaganda among the circle of workers in the St. Petersburg area, and, Kropotkin adds, "was very much wanted by the police".



More or less at the same time, police broke up the Chaikovskii Circle in St. Petersburg, arresting Kropotkin. Stepniak, who had begun his work again in Moscow, fled to Odessa where, with other Chaikovists, he planned to organise armed peasant uprisings.

From there he went to Paris, but when he received news of the Serbian rising against the Turks in Herzegovina, he and M.P. Sazhin determined at once to recruit fighters for the ideal of a Slavic Federation, and go to their assistance. He went first to North Italy to see Velkhovsky (former head of the Odessa Chaikovskii), raising a number of small groups of fighters, composed mainly of slavic emigres and former members of Garibaldi's legions which were involved in a number of armed clashes in Herzegovina, before they were forced to adapt to partisan tactics in the Dalmatian mountains. Stepniak soon became disillusioned with the social character of the war and its religious fanaticism.

The next period of his life is confused, as some reports credit him with being in Geneva again by 1876, although others ascribe him a role in Kropotkin's prison escape during the same year.

By 1877, however, he was in Italy, taking an active part in the ill-fated Benevento uprising. Stepniak, Malatesta and Cafiero succeeded in rousing the peasants of two villages in the traditional brigand stronghold of the mountains of Matese, near Naples. Municipal buildings were seized in the name of the social revolution. Primitive arms distributed, tax registers burnt and the *macinato* tax meters smashed. Government troops quelled the revolt and a small armed band of 26 people were arrested, among them Stepniak, who was condemned to death. He luckily escaped as a result of an amnesty, and became active again in Switzerland, among the conspiratorial groups of exiles there.

He returned secretly to Russia where he became editor of *Zemlia i Volia*. On August 4th, 1878, he assassinated the chief of the Imperial Third Section (secret police), General Mezentsev, stabbing him in broad daylight in a St. Petersburg square. Although Mezentsev's assassination had been planned well in advance, it took place only two days after the revolutionary Kovalsky had been shot in Odessa, and it gave the act an appearance of sudden retaliation, which increased its impact.

Stepniak, in a pamphlet *Smert' za smert'* (a death for a death), justified the assassination as being revenge for all those ill-treated in prison, the sentences against revolutionary propagandists, and as an act of retaliation for the famous "Trial of the hundred and ninety-three". But, Stepniak explained was not just the end of one epoch, but the start of another, which it was, for both the revolutionary movement in Russia (halting the slide from populism to liberalism), and for Stepniak himself — he left Russia after two more years of continued clandestine activity. Traveling first to Geneva, then to Italy, and finally to London in 1883 to raise support for the Revolutionary movement within Russia.

Within the framework of Victorian Britain he set out to justify the dramatic and often violent acts of Russia's nihilists, explaining the real nature of the repression there and the problems that the revolutionaries faced every day. His arguments remained those of *Smert' za smert'*... acts of terror against the authorities were essentially defensive measures, the only channels left open to people within Tsarist Russia. People were being tortured and killed for engaging in purely political and propaganda activities — and often on the suspicion that they had done so. This official violence could only be countered by revolutionary acts.

Underground Russia (1883), was his first

English language publication, although the articles were originally written during his stay in Italy.

It was Hyndman, who on first reading an Italian edition, suggested that it might be translated into English. The book's vivid biographical profiles of many well-known revolutionaries (including Kropotkin, Vera Zasulich and Sofia Perovskaia) and its colourful descriptions of the operation of clandestine printing presses and prison escapes captured the imagination of those who read them, and shaped opinions towards Russia and the revolutionary movement for several years.

Underground Russia made exactly the same points as *Smert' za smert'*, but it did so in a much more sophisticated way, detailing the demands of the Executive Committee of Narodnaia Volia, and the massive support given to the revolutionaries by the majority of the people.

Stepniak's audience grew as he began writing for magazines. In 1884 he wrote for *Today* (a paper published by socialists, E. Belford Bax and J.L. Joyes) about political prisoners in Russia and the brutal behaviour of the authorities towards the prisoners. He also contributed articles on student life in Russian universities and on the Russian press to *The Times*, and in 1885 contributed his first article to *Commonweal*, 'The actual position of Russia'. The influence of his articles was felt as far away as Russia itself. According to a *Times* reporter who described "an extremely sore feeling" among government officials, at what they regarded as press bias in allowing the publication of "prejudiced" writings by Stepniak and other exiled nihilists.

Underground Russia was translated into several languages, including German, French and Danish, and its success, and the impact of his magazine articles in Britain and North America convinced him that he could "conquer the world for the Russian revolution", and "throw upon the scales the huge weight of public opinion of civilised nations". He decided to abandon clandestine activity and instead devote himself to becoming a propagandist for the revolution.

The *Times* articles and those he wrote for other papers formed the nucleus of material for *Russia under the Tsars* (1885), which resembled *Underground Russia*, but expanded on the original themes of that book, by describing the forms of village and peasant democracy that existed prior to the autocratic rule of Moscow. Nearly 200 pages of this volume were devoted to detailed instances of police searches, censorship, imprisonment and exile, an impressive body of evidence that profoundly influenced contemporary Victorian society, which was what Stepniak had hoped. That book was followed by *The Russian Storm Cloud* (1886), again compiled from contributions Stepniak had made to leading newspapers. Subtitled "or Russia in her relation to neighbouring countries", the book set out to prove that the Tsar's territorial ambitions were intended to divert attention away from internal unrest.

In 1888 his fourth book was published, *The Russian Peasantry*, and within less than twenty years had been reprinted in four editions. As well as discussing the social plight of peasants in Russia, it discusses the revolutionary potential of non-orthodox religious sects as the Dukhobors and the Stundists. Despite his friendship with prominent Marxists such as Engels, G. V. Plekhanov and Bernstein, Stepniak remained uninfluenced by marxist socialism, preferring to rely upon his own knowledge of conditions in Russia, and seeing the peasantry as the backbone of any revolution.

For the first few years of his residence in England, Stepniak preferred speaking to small discussion groups, and it wasn't until 1886 that he spoke at his first large meeting which was organised by the Hammersmith branch of the

Socialist League, when William Morris took the chair. Stepniak spoke without notes, answering questions for quite a long time. Although a resolution of sympathy with the Russian people was passed at the meeting, Stepniak wasn't anxious to repeat the performance and declined other Socialist League invitations until his grasp of the English language improved.

Nevertheless, he spoke at many small meetings throughout the country, and often spent as much as ten to twelve hours a day, writing, researching and organising. His activities won him a wide circle of supporters, not only among anarchists, socialists and Fabians, but among such people as orthodox Tory W. Earl Hodgson. Stepniak was a stout man, with an oriental cast to his brown eyes, and a mass of black hair crowning his square head, but his soft-spoken, reticent manner was in complete contrast to the media presented image of the nihilist, so that he often completely disarmed opponents who met him in the flesh.

His fifth book, *The Career of a Nihilist: a novel*, (1889) was designed to describe the degree of self-sacrifice and devotion shown by the Russian revolutionaries in a fictionalised framework. It drew him more attention, but the book itself received a mixed reception. Following its publication Stepniak threw himself into the organisation of a society that would channel aid from British intellectuals to the revolutionary movement in Russia. Several Members of Parliament supported this organisation, the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, Edward Pease (Secretary and chronicler of the Fabian Society) became its secretary and Stepniak edited its paper *Free Russia* for two years. At the same time, with other exiles, Stepniak was working to establish a Russian Free Press Fund to print Russian language material for opposition movements in exile and in Russia. He insisted on a "moderate stance" for the Fund's propaganda, considering it "ignoble" to incite others to commit violent acts or to call for insurrection when he was "safe" in a foreign country.

By 1891, however, his views were changing, as can be seen from his essay 'What is wanted' (later republished in *Nihilism as it is*) in which he wrote:

"We utterly disbelieve in the possibility of reconstructing economic relationships by means of a burst of revolutionary inspiration. That is a huge work which needs great mental efforts on the part of many people, much preparation, much practical experience and correction, and therefore, much time."

It is important to emphasise, however that his views did not change as much as has been made out. He continued to support, with all his efforts, the revolutionary movement both inside Russia and in exile.

Although he was a close friend of Kropotkin's, and although he believed anarchism contributed greatly to the ideas of change, he remained a nihilist, believing anarchism impractical. It is not surprising that he made friends readily with Marxists like Engels and Bernstein, or with Fabians such as Pearce and Shaw. Writers of our time often forget that these tendencies were found within the same organisation in Stepniak's day, and that his ideas were not so far removed from theirs. He was also determined to secure the widest possible support for his work and was naturally intent on seeking it within the most influential quarters.

With the help of a sympathetic American journalist, George Kennan, with whom he had co-operated before, he organised a tour of the USA during the winter and spring of 1890-1891. He and Kennan created an American branch of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, although it doesn't

ARMS & THE WOMAN

One of the symptoms of the weaknesses of the revolutionary movement today is that it has not yet reached the point of giving birth to a qualitative and autonomous expression of *revolutionary women*. It is known that the degree of development attained by the forces of negation in existing society finds its unequivocal, decisive and obvious manifestation in the relations between revolutionary men and women, and in the manner in which the direct and natural relation of the sexes is conceived.

The division of roles of the sexes in alienated society, inherited from feudal society and the first stages of industrial society, can be schematically defined in this way: *femininity* concentrates the anti-historical tendencies of alienated life (passivity, submission to nature, the superstition that follows from this, repetition, resignation), *masculinity* its pseudo-historical tendencies (a certain degraded taste for struggle, arrogance, pseudo-activity, innovation, confidence in the power of society, rationalism). Femininity and masculinity are two *complementary* poles of the same alienation. In modern industrial society, these two poles tend, in losing their material bases, to blend into each other to constitute the specific traits of the modern proletariat, where the differences between the sexes are less marked.

In all epochs, and according to the nature of those epochs, men and women have never constituted two *pure* types. Whatever their sex, individuals unite, in various ways, the character traits and behaviour of the two sexes. Nevertheless, femininity has up till now always been the dominant trait of the alienation of women, and masculinity that of men. But, fundamentally, it is the traits of the old femininity which re-appear at present in the generalised passivity of the reign of the modern economy, although femininity and masculinity, free from their material roots, are recaptured and used indiscriminately by the two sexes, as modes of spectacular affirmation.

While in alienated society, woman and man find themselves more and more on a plane of equality (except in cases where patriarchy still prevails) because the woman cannot find in her



THE FEMALE PIRATES. (FROM AN OLD PRINT.)

male companion — who is as unarmed as she is — an admirable and all-powerful protector; in the modern revolutionary movement, in contrast, the woman begins by being sharply confronted with her old femininity in the face of the domination of a certain theoretical prestige. Because, for the individual *who is not involved in theoretical activity*, theory appears as “an ability to write,” to “think,” a product of intelligence, an individual creation full of mystery. This is the spectacle effect; the fetishism of theory for those who find themselves outside it. The woman often finds herself forced to admit that she has “not yet written anything,” and that she has no active role in the elaboration of revolutionary theory, in apparent contrast to certain of the men she sees. In matters regarding theory, her first impulse is to rely on men, who seem to her “more qualified” than her. She ends up by distrusting her own thought, paralysed by external criteria. When she happens to penetrate unexplored terrains,

she stops short, thinking that if it hasn't been done been done before it must have been because it wasn't worth the trouble. Her thought, when in spite of everything she manages to have some, remains a dead letter: the woman never on her own follows through to the practical consequences of her thought. Often, she judges an individual very quickly, making a pertinent, perceptive critique, even before her male friend or friends; but in her passivity she stops there. When it comes to practical consequences, she hides behind men. Her reflections and her critiques are made in private, leaving masculinity to attend to *putting them into practice*.

But in this way she deprives herself of a direct grasp on her social environment; she never directly influences anything and thus cannot become a theorist. For theory is the critique of daily life; it is the operation of each individual conducted in this daily life; it is a succession of renewed and corrected *interventions* in relations with people

Stepniak: Portrait of a Nihilist cont.

seem to have functioned much after Stepniak's return to Britain. They also organised a petition of support for the Russian revolutionary movement, but Stepniak was forced to moderate its tone before American intellectuals would sign, writing out support for the violent section of the movement. During one newspaper interview he even went so far as to deny his role in the assassination of Mezentsov, although it is well documented.

Back in Britain he continued his propaganda work, extending their range by writing a play, *The New Convert*, which wasn't performed until

after his death, as well as several novels and working on a number of translations of Russian literature. His final book, *King Stork and King Log: a study of persecution in modern Russia* (1896) described yet further instances of persecution and the continuing activities of the revolutionaries.

On December 23, 1895, he was in Chiswick, on his way to attend a meeting at which yet further propaganda plans and organisational details were to be discussed, when his old devilry got the better of him. Approaching some railway lines, he noticed an approaching locomotive: impatiently he decided to leap across the path of the passing train rather than wait until

it was safe to cross. Older than he realised, he was caught by the heel and killed.

Throughout his life Stepniak was an untiring fighter for the things in which he believed, becoming the leading propagandist of the Russian revolutionary movement in exile. The last word belongs to his contemporaries:

“All who knew him intimately could not help admiring the pure, idealistic soul of this tender-hearted man who, with astonishing zeal, untiringly devoted himself to work for freedom”. Vassily Zhook, in *The Torch of Anarchy*.

“As a revolutionist Stepniak was our hero — as an author our glory.” W. Tchorkesoff, in *Liberty*.
Martyn Everett

(which are also the effective terrain of alienation) and, what amounts to the same thing, it is also a series of interventions in society. Theory is an undertaking of *revolutionary transformation* that implies that the individual theorist accept his own uninterrupted transformation. Theory lies therefore in the comprehension of and action on blocks (individual and social-historical).

If men have an *apparently* preponderant place in the revolutionary movement, it is because many among them enter the revolutionary struggle with the character traits of *masculinity* – that is to say, in reality with as few aptitudes as women, and with the same unconscious *complacency* regarding their character traits as women have their femininity – which can create illusions, since the practice of theory demands imagination, real struggle, confidence in oneself and in the power of the individual, aptitudes which the masculine character possesses in a degraded form. To convince oneself of this hidden misery of the modern revolutionary movement, it suffices to note that femininity would not be allowed to exist in it without the assent of masculinity, or at least would not be tolerated for long. Feminine passivity has its flip side in masculine activism. Up till now, it is primarily the passivity that has been noted, because it is the most glaring contradiction in a movement founded on the autonomy of individuals.

Women are only colonised by the spectacle of theory insofar as they are totally exterior to theory. And it is not the example or the *intervention* of men, themselves largely colonised by this spectacle, that can precipitate women's demystification, that can make them comprehend *in vivo* what theory is. Henceforth, the passivity of women must be criticised, not superficially because they don't write or don't know how to express themselves autonomously, but at the root, because they don't have any direct and practical efficacy; notably in their relations with others. Equally, it must no longer suffice a man to "express himself" abstractly. His writings and his thought must have direct concrete effects. Masculinity and its activism must no longer have femininity and passivity as its foil.

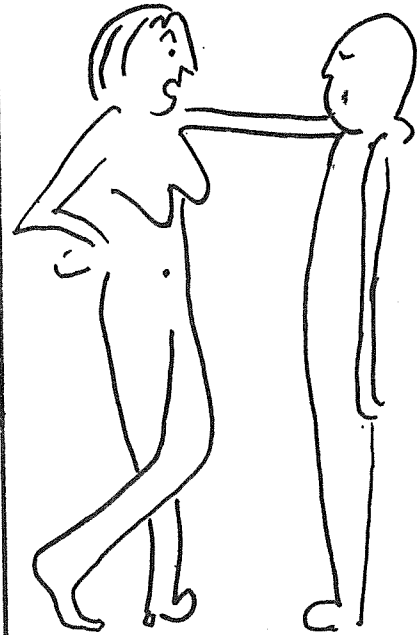
There is an obvious complacency present in the maintenance of these roles. The alienated individual is reluctant to root out what he has repressed; and since masculinity and femininity are complementary, they have all the solidity of a natural and inevitable phenomena. In the refusal to combat these roles, there subsists the fact of the global acceptance of alienated society. Those who claim to be revolutionaries say they want to change the world and their own lives. But in reality these individuals hope that *they will be changed* by a revolution. They thus remain passive individuals, ready to adapt themselves, *if they have to*, but who fundamentally fear all change. They are quite the opposite of situationists.

The resolution of the deficiencies of revolutionary practice at the beginning of the new epoch now passes directly through the resolution of the deficiencies of revolutionary women; which is to say, also through the supersession of a certain limited masculine practice which has up till now accommodated itself to these deficiencies and their maintenance. It is an urgent objective for the critique of daily life to definitively destroy the inequality of the sexes in revolutionary activity; that is to say, to destroy the respective roles which both sexes establish in alienated life, the character structures of femininity and masculinity and the limitations that they impose on revolutionary experience.

There are two principal types of women in the revolutionary movement: the most numerous at present are the women provided with a protector.

They are admitted into the revolutionary milieu with the traits of femininity, because they are presented by a man. The others present themselves: they are admitted as the result of a prestigious past which they have participated in, or for an ideology which they have assimilated well. These latter are admitted with the traits of masculinity, as men are.

Some of these women say absolutely nothing in public, contenting themselves with making remarks in private that they wouldn't otherwise dare to make; or they don't open their mouths except in response to the futile sort of questions that are believed to be the only ones that can be asked of them; or again, arbitrarily thrown into "theoretical discussions," anxiously watching out of the corner of their eye for the approval of their protector. They won't dare admit their ignorance of the subject, and entangle themselves in the confusion of their thoughts, or repeat what they have heard said, their difficulties in this domain seeming shameful to them; others openly display their insufficiencies, finding excuses for themselves in the difficulties they have in writing –



**I SOMETIMES WONDER
IF YOU'RE THE RIGHT ONE
FOR ME TO BE SUBMISSIVE TO**

but only in writing, as an inexplicable calamity – implying that they nonetheless think admirably; or perhaps they recognise in this a feminine defect, and fancy themselves protected, supposing that their honesty guards them from any more direct critique; still others express themselves by means of an aggressive demonstration towards men to show that they are not under any man's thumb and that they think autonomously. Each time, it is their colonisation by the spectacle of theory which paralyzes women.

Thus, for the most part, the only relations which remain to women are amorous ones. There they flaunt their sensitivity, ranting in private against theory as being something cold and abstract, and lauding "human relations." Women are often recognised as having greater "sensitivity" and subtlety when it comes to judging people. In addition, men, having a certain minimum of practical exigence, are considered more prudent when it comes to critiques that will entail practical consequences. They prefer to admire their female companion for such a capacity, which they claim

to possess only in a lesser degree – they had to repress it – and thus justify their relation with this woman: the passivity and public non-existence of the woman must be compensated by a greater hidden richness, and the monogamic justification of the couple is this complementarity of the man and the woman. If sensitivity is still an attribute of femininity, it is because theory is not understood for what it is, since men who are considered to be theorists are considered to lack sensitivity; whereas in fact theory includes the practical application of this sensitivity and subtlety.

The modern revolutionary movement must destroy this opposition of pleasure/activity, sensitivity/lucidity, conception/execution, habit/innovation, etc. The femininity/masculinity opposition corresponds to a reified stage of human development.

The individuals colonised by the spectacle of a revolutionary theory are in fact colonised by the need to appear autonomous; they are subject to appearance. As long as theory continues to be understood as a product of intelligence, as the individual faculty of thinking and of writing, and as such, as a possible source of personal prestige, men will continue to want to "express themselves" at all costs and women will lament not being able to imitate them.

It is now a matter of understanding theory for what it is. It is essential that women (and men) no longer accept one's acts being in contradiction with one's words, and no longer accept the existence of critiques without consequences. It is essential to restore to subjectivity all its rights by giving it practical follow through. No one should be able to be lucid about others without being lucid about himself, or lucid about himself without being lucid about himself without being lucid about others. The modern revolutionary movement must become unliveable for masculinity and femininity. It must judge individuals *on their life*.

Jeanne Charles

(This article, originally entitled *La critique ad mulierem* is from the *Chronique des Secrets Publics*, Vol. 1, June 1975. Translated by Ken Knabb, Bureau of Public Secrets, Berkeley, USA)

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ANARCHO FEMINISM TWO STATEMENTS

We feel there is a need to develop a communist anarcha-feminist ideology because communist anarchism and feminism joined together would be a logical and complete union of principles and ideals. Neither would have to be altered or apologised for to suit the other. Both would be enriched by their integration.

There is much to be studied, new concepts to be thought about and acted on. Many feminists are searching for a framework in which to actualise a revolution. Feminism alone means many things to many women. Women all over the country are seeking specific political ideologies with which to attack all of the conditions which oppress all people. Because of their dedication to non-hierarchical relationships, working in small groups and deriving power from the masses, feminists are called natural anarchists. Though this is true, it is time to concretely explore the association. Anarchism comes the closest to providing a clear analysis of political, economic and statist oppression and should, by its very nature, encompass feminism, but this has not been the case.

Most anarchist and feminist language is common; changing what is contradictory to feminism in traditional anarchist thought is one of the tasks before anarcha-feminists. One of the key reasons anarchism and feminism are so well suited to each other is that both are root concepts, humane enough to encourage movement and flux; to recognise the need for a continuous revolution within themselves. The idea of freedom of association, inherent in both, offers to women and men a framework for total personal, political and social revolution.

Why Anarchism? What does Anarchism bring to Feminism?

Anarchism is based on freedom of association. It is a clear understanding of hierarchy and authority and how they work politically and economically to oppress. Anarchism gives us an economic analysis, suggests a system of organisation, a workable plan for revolutionary action. Here we must say that the anarchism we are talking about is communist anarchism, the only kind of anarchism compatible with our feminist principles and our history of co-operation and sharing.

Revolution is an ongoing process in anarchist thought. It takes seriously the spiritual, emotional and individual aspects of human nature, which also is basic to feminism. Anarchism relies on the belief that humans, regardless of their mental and physical capacities are basically constructive,

when given the chance. Anarchism reinforces feminism's intuitive understanding of the need for a mass movement, the necessity of the masses to carry out a revolution, rather than an elite group of professional revolutionaries.

What does Feminism bring to Anarchism?

Revolutionary feminism is the first political ideology to challenge all caste oppression, whether based on sex, class, age, race or mental and physical attributes. Since many women experience oppression, not only on account of sex but also class and race, we have a concern for and a material base for uniting all oppressed people. Feminism recognises patriarchy, capitalism and statism as cores to caste oppression. Feminism also challenges all assumptions about revolution and relationships in a liberated society. Feminism recognises that oppressions are always inter-related, that personal and economic and political oppressions are manifested in all our lives. Feminism offers to anarchist men an unlocking of the masculine inheritance that cripples emotion and expression. Feminism brings to anarchism the sense of the circular, of connection, the finishing touches of existing anarchist awareness, of the human need for beauty, joy and expression.

Ends and Means

What is it, then, that we mean when we talk about communist anarcha-feminism? There are many aspects that are important, that should be stressed. We will start by talking about the unity of ends and means. We have an understanding of revolution as an on-going process. The values we foresee for the future must be put into practice now. What we do and how we do it determine what we get. We believe that a liberated society would not be a static one given to the people after a magic revolution but one that is achieved through direct participation, consciously revolutionary in all its phases. This means the way we live and communicate our ideas during, before and after a revolution will affect the success of it: and without this process working, a revolution will never be achieved.

Individuality, Collectivity, and Deprivitisation

As part of our process we understand the compatibility of individuality and collectivity. When we talk about individuality we are not talking about the individualistic competition that hierarchical society breeds. We are talking about freedom for individuals to develop in ways they choose. That freedom can be had by collective or community work toward meeting individual and broad-based needs. Through collective analysis and feedback individuals will be better able to under-

stand the forces that have shaped and continue to influence their personalities and lives. Living our concepts directly leads to the realisation that the personal is political, a basis for people to daily affirm their beliefs and needs.

Personal and Political

Anarcha-feminism recognises the unity of the personal and political. Our analysis must be applied to everyday life — we must live our lives in a revolutionary way. Our way of thinking, acting and perceiving reality must change along with the social and economic fibre of society. We must, with the support of others, become self-actualising individuals, take control of our lives and struggle to free ourselves from the restraints on our freedom that we have internalised. This implies an attitude toward revolution that includes an understanding of the need for joy and celebration. Renewing our energies through play and celebration is considered important to revolution. We see the personal life as *one* stage of the revolution. We must always keep in mind that revolution is *social*, and we must strive to make the liberatory ideal a common one.

Culture

Art is perhaps one of the most obvious means for melding the personal and political, though the connection is often misused or brushed off. Art is more than a means of celebration for those who enjoy it. For many serious revolutionary women, art is a way of life and work. Anarcha-feminism recognises that cultural diversity and freedom of choice are important aspects of a liberatory society and must be encouraged now. Because of our background in an authoritarian society, there are aspects of cultural freedom we must immediately become aware of and advance. One aspect is sexuality. The freedom to guiltlessly develop sexually and sensually and self-determination as to who, when, where, and how we relate sexually are essential aspects of a liberatory society.

Feminist analysis growing from women's experiences in the nuclear family extends anarchist analysis of hierarchy into the vital areas of family and daily life. We see the nuclear family as the base unit for a possessive, authoritarian society. People's energies are directed from constructive, creative work to the struggles of maintaining life in that unit. The nuclear family isolates women and young people, seriously restricting the cultural, intellectual and physical development of youth. Our revolutionary process should include development of alternatives to the nuclear family. Alternative ways of providing for the

functions now performed by the family, especially ways relating to the care of young people. The concept of private property, so intimately linked to the nuclear family, must be destroyed and the concept of ownership by use replace it. *Use it or lose it*, my mother always said. One way to begin destroying the private property concept is by neighbourhoods holding certain tools in common – rakes, lawn-mowers, etc., or by forming housework or snow shoveling brigades.

Organisation

Anarcha-feminism recognises the need for organisation. It is important that organisation is voluntary. In other words, organisation is a self created and intentional. Organisation must be non-hierarchical. No one person or group should control others. One way to advance equalitarian structure is by using a consensus decision making process. With consensus each individual or group has equal power. And we understand with consensus information sharing is a necessity.

Leadership is an important concept to discuss. Individuals are leaders because they exert influence on account of their experience, personality, etc. Keeping in mind the unity of means and ends, we understand there are ways to facilitate

sharing of leadership – task rotation, skill sharing to insure the same people do not continually occupy the same roles. It is important that people exercise self-discipline in taking initiative. Women – and men – have been prevented from developing skills because of our obsession with efficiency. Because of this “religion of efficiency”, anarcha-feminists must destroy the mystique of leadership by encouraging and actively supporting unskilled persons in taking leadership roles.

While groupings based on sex, class and race are expected and encouraged, we do realise that we are/will be involved in a movement that is mixed. Therefore, we have looked into what we call an anarcha-feminist ideology, and we have certain expectations from the people – especially the men – we will work with.

People must have an active understanding that many of their most habitual, everyday attitudes and actions are oppressive. We must examine even such mundane things as humour, language, fads in human relationships, commonly used in all unequal power relationships – by corporations against workers, individuals against individuals.

People, because of their sex, class or race privilege or oppression, have developed and learned ways of acting and thinking that are incompatible

with a revolutionary ideology. We expect an understanding of the essential nature of recognising, expressing and fulfilling emotional needs and a willingness to act on that perception. We also expect and encourage gatherings of affinity groups, such as women, men, class groups and race groups to further explore and understand their oppressions and to give and receive support in overcoming them.

As we said earlier, feminism – up till now – has intuitively developed along anarchist lines. The time has come to consciously merge these two – feminism and anarchism – to come up with a workable revolutionary ideology and analysis. We understand that it is from our practice that we are able to build theory, and we know the theory we develop will enable our practice to be more clear and directed. Thus, anarchism and feminism will continually supplement and support each other. It is to this end we have presented this statement of anarcha-feminist ideology.

Nancy Evechild, Margot Rideau, Beverly Adams, Mary Hastings. [We gratefully recognise and thank the women of the Des Moines New World Collective – a communist anarcho-feminist collective – for inspiration and ideas.]

(Reprinted from *Soil of Liberty*, Vol. 1, No.1)

ANARCHA-FEMINISM.... ONE WOMAN'S RESPONSE

Pluffy Golod (Re-printed from *Soil of Liberty*, Vol 2, No.2)

I could almost hear my brains sizzle as I read and re-read the paper on anarcha-feminism. I was overjoyed to know that women in my own city were serious anarchists. I looked forward to meeting and working with them, to an easing of the political loneliness and frustration I felt in relation to so much of the radical community in this city. But I was annoyed by the vague generality of the paper and found myself warring with the language which is inclined towards the dogmatism and abstraction I'd campaigned against so unsuccessfully in the past.

Because anarchist ideas are so deeply important to me, because I am stuck with my own radical commitment in spite of my cranky cynicism, and because I love and respect the women who wrote the paper, I feel obliged to speak out my deepest criticisms of the paper so that I can work most confidently with all of you, unhampered by reservations or scepticism.

I need to retrace my own political past a bit in order to give clear ground for the things I want to say. All my political work has been with feminists. Although I was first radicalised by the anti-war movement and by hippies, I was unable to fit myself into any concrete anti-war work, mostly because I had a baby and enormous responsibilities to finish school and, you know, make something of myself. I didn't have the time to hang out and fit myself in. The defiant, colourful, freedom-loving hippies I knew attracted me but I was characterologically incapable of being a hippy, ambitious and mouthy as I was and am.

But feminism spoke to every part of my character and social situation. It helped me describe my miserable school experience, the terrible conflict I felt between wanting to be smart and important in the world and wanting to be pretty and feminine and loved and desired. The two seemed irreconcilable to me. My early adult years found me haphazardly educated, practically incapable of

serious study or thought, trapped in a boring marriage which had been entered accidentally and desperately and, most frighteningly, responsible for the future of a small child who I loved but feared because her needs seemed so crushing to my own vague hopes. Feminist ideas and models gave me the impetus to crash out of my marriage and begin to think about other ways to live my life. They legitimised the preference I'd always felt for female company and conversation. Feminism did not mitigate my need for approval and attention from men, but it made me conscious of the self-defeating and phoney ways I related to men and strengthened me intellectually and psychologically so that I shed some of my worst defensive postures. Ironically, in the course of taking myself seriously as a woman, I slowly learned genuinely friendly responses to men.

But I wanted to work for feminist ideals politically as well as to make use of them to help me personally. I worked hard to help run the Woman's Studies programme through the resistant University bureaucracy and fought the good fight to get childcare on campus. I did these things because, it seemed to me, they needed to be done. I was naive politically. Once Women's Studies became an actuality, I saw it co-opted by our administrators and female faculty using their gender as a way of making a niche for themselves at the University. The classes were often just as boring, large and competitive as any I'd experienced before.

I saw graduate school as a dead end and left but continued to work for childcare on campus because I knew how important that was. That effort, too, was co-opted. We got a centre, care for 70 children. But the centre was seen as the final goal, a “victory”, and there was no coherent group to push for more. Complicated relations between administrators, liberal goody-two shoes, conservative leftists and well-intentioned but

innocent types like me screwed that one up. I knew that political ideas more specific than feminism had affected those efforts. I set myself to figure out my own political ideas more clearly and to find other women who I could work with more confidently.

This brought me to the Women's Union. Socialism was one of those words which I equated with the SWP and boring leaflets. I preferred to say that I was a radical and leave the technicalities to others. But I was attracted to the Union because the women were warm and seemed to share a political ideal above and beyond their relation to issues. I found the language of their political principles boring but I agreed in a general way with the idea that women's problems need to be understood in terms of all kinds of political oppression. Socialist-feminism seemed more generous and practical than radical feminism and more committed to women's lives and feminist process than other socialist types who only used a feminist issue as an organising vehicle, never really addressing deeper problems. I wouldn't have used the word libertarian at the time but the dedication to small groups and the commitment to a plurality of concerns made intuitive sense to me.

But I found myself at odds with the language used by socialist-feminists, at odds with what I thought then was a romantic attraction to the revolutions of China and Cuba. The anti-imperialist focus of much of the work seemed guilty and unlikely to produce creative, immediate responses to women's lives. Finally, I couldn't swallow the abstract, rather grandiose insistence on a “correct analysis” which we could discover and implement to make a revolution. But the Union helped me develop much of my political seriousness to take seriously much larger consideration than had ever been my wont before. I began to read a little anarchist writing. For a

long time. I walked a kind of political tight rope, knowing those writings expressed what I really thought but trying to work them into the activity of the Women's Union and the Left in this city. The Socialist-Feminist conference brought the conflict to a head. I realised that I had been operating off a completely different set of expectations than most of the women working on the conference. I saw myself as a kind of knowledgeable co-ordinator, willing to put in time to bring women together to share their experiences and ideas. I'd hoped to learn some practical working schemes for change and some theory to guide those projects.

But the other conference planners saw themselves as a leadership and were threatened by the diversity and self-assertion of women who came to the conference. They saw the conference as some crystalising event which would bring Socialist Feminism to the fore and launch it as a national, cohesive political force. While I shared their opposition to the sectarian madness of many of the women there and advocated a fairly rigorous exclusion of sectarians, I also saw that the conference planners could not distinguish between a sectarian power play and a legitimate request for more participation and room to air different ideas. And I saw that their own Marxist-Leninism made them susceptible to the attacks on their leadership credentials because they really were not clear on just how or why they were different from and better than other political voices of that time.

Then I read the Anarcha-Feminist paper. I came to it tired, discouraged and confused. In some ways, that political misery has only increased in the wake of the Co-op organisation's assault on Left work here. But the latter force has impelled me to state my own ideas more forcefully and give whatever energy I have left to make the anarchist ideas presented the best and brightest possible.

My major problem with the paper is the use of the word "ideology". I find ideology to be a constricting, self-limiting construct.

I know that we exist inside a dominant ideology which we need to understand and expose and that we need to define our own principles and social remedies. This amounts to the development of an anarchist or feminist ideology. But ideology as it is put forward by the Left usually amounts to a formulaic unrealistic set of guidelines which define the word narrowly. Ideology is usually expressed abstractly, propelled along by "musts" and "shoulds". We need to avoid the falsely scientific, doctrinaire world-view which so much ideological thinking promotes.

Specifically, I think that the attempt to construct an ideology dried the paper up and led to generalisations rather than concrete examples and moving pleas for a humane, flexible approach to revolutionary work.

I'd like to examine a few of the generalisations which I found most vague or misleading. This won't be an exhaustive critique, just a few examples of the problems we need to tackle.

First of all, the paper cites "freedom of association" as a vital anarchist principle. But what is freedom of association? How is it different from other ways in which people are organised? What are some examples of how it has worked in practice? If it is such a good idea, why does it have so little currency?

The paper asserts that a combination of anarchist principles and feminist ways of operating would result in a "framework for total, personal, political and social revolution." I suggest, first of all, that "total" liberation is almost inconceivable for most of us and that we fool ourselves and fail to convince others by such blanket statements. What might it feel like to be personally liberated?

How would that work in terms of our relationships with children, old people? What would happen to our current notions of love or ambition? And what are the exact distinctions between social, political and economic problems and solutions?

The paper says that anarchist theory asserts the basic good, constructive nature of most human beings. I know that most anarchist writing has a sunny, optimistic glow to it. Is this, perhaps, one of the reasons why anarchism seems anachronistic to most of our contemporaries? What can we do to promote practical, hard-headed anarchist schemes so that we're not dismissed as sweet but ineffectual utopians?

One very basic problem which the paper needs to clarify is just whose anarchism and whose feminism we're talking about. Part of my problem was some puzzlement about just who the paper was addressed to. Other anarchists? Feminists? Marxist-Leninists? It contains many allusions to such concepts as "statism", "hierarchy", and "efficiency" all classical anarchist pot-shots at Leninists and the structural similarities between communists and "democratic" state structures. I agree, but, if the paper is addressed to women who've moved towards Leninist ideology, then it must be scrupulous about explaining what exactly the anarchistic alternative to a given centralised concept is, how it would work, why it is better. At this point, we're bucking history, and we really must be concrete in order to win any audience there.

If the paper is addressed more generally to a feminist audience, then it should be more explicit about what revolutionary feminism is and how it is different from other kinds of feminism. Also, each principle of anarchism needs to be dissected, concretised and presented in a sympathetic, colourful and tangible language. Feminists are justifiably suspicious of Left rhetoric — they fear co-optation. This paper offers no real alternative to socialist-feminism in terms of spirit or practicality.

Feminism is an idea about how things might be better for women and finally for men. Feminists have offered some analysis of families, and sexual relationships which build from but are far deeper and more penetrating than almost anything out of Left or psychological theory. But these insights have led them full circle back to other, older revolutionary criticisms of society. These re-discoveries seemed so pressing, so vital to me when they directly described my own life, that I felt that I and other "women's libbers" were the first to really feel, really know.

I think this led many of us to an insistence on feminism as a politics. We took our involvement in a social movement and tried to make out of it a set of principles which would describe all the world's problems in terms of ourselves. Inevitably, this led to radical feminism which asserts biology as the primary contradiction, women as the first slave and nigger and, as day follows night, insists on women as the vanguard of the revolution.

The paper does suggest that anarchist theory has been around a while and that it is the most useful political perspective for realising feminist goals and for liberating most people. We should talk more about what feminist projects — the consciousness raising group, the early Redstockings, all the feminist collectives — were anarchistic, how they exemplified freedom of association. We should talk about feminist organisations such as NOW, which have imitated traditional American political structures, have failed feminists and about how separatist theorists have missed the boat by trying to isolate women from society.

There are many ways of being an anarchist,

even communist-anarchist. I'm thinking that the statement that anarchism, of any kind, is a "clear understanding" of hierarchy, authority, and political and economic oppression is another over-statement, typical of Marxist dogma. It promises "the answer." I think an important anarchist assertion might suggest that no one is entirely clear about what's wrong with our society or how to fix it. We all have some areas which we have paid more attention to and can help with, but finally the responsibility for analysing a problem and doing something about it rests with whoever feels the pinch.

Let's watch out for the concept of caste. That word means a rigidly exclusive social class. We experience class conflict in subtler, complicated ways. Given all the undefined, guilty gobbledegook about the working class so current, we should be very careful about our words.

Let's watch out for personal dogmatism and purist thinking. The paper says we "must" live our lives in a revolutionary way. First of all, I bridle at the order. Secondly, I maintain that it's impossible. We were raised in nuclear families, educated by the state's schools, mesmerised by TV serials and popular songs. We carry a lot of old baggage deep in our characters. Our days find us at odds with our jobs, our grocery stores, our movies, our children, and our men. We should challenge each other when we're being less than we might but let's not insist on too much at once. Too much stress on revolutionary life-style leads to a self-consciousness which puts a political person out of touch with the daily concerns of most women.

Finally, let's be specific. This is hard work. The liveliest section of the paper was the example of neighbourhood common ownership. There were more concrete nouns in that sentence than most anywhere else, and it worked. Let's use our novels, poetry and music for these sources. If art is vital, let's work with it in our political statements.

We must make our ideas real and lively for each other before we can hope to move others with them. The discontent of women in this country is overpowering. Hours in front of typewriters, days in kitchens and laundromats, money and time wasted on mascara, platform heels and stained glass window kits. Women sit lonely in parks while their children play awkwardly on boring, alien "recreation" equipment. Women stare past their children, their faces lined and vacant, or they listlessly sift through magazines filled with pictures of Jacqueline Onassis and recipes for asparagus casseroles when asparagus costs \$1.09 a pound, can't be found in a city grocery store, and the whole thing takes two hours anyway. Doctors are poisoning our younger sisters with birth control pills and numbing our mothers with tranquilisers. Movies and songs sell us phoney images which we knock our brains out trying to live out. They even co-opt our best ideas and package Erica Jong's for the amusement of liberated women. It's a rotten mess but we're still here, even optimistic sometimes.

Why? We know we're a new generation of freedom fighters, and that others have gone before us. Let's talk about our ancestors, their lives and their ideas. Let's make movies and poems, history books and pictures about cities, the way they are, the way they might be; about women's lives as they exist and as they change; about the ladies who took over the park; who sat in at the welfare department. About the new schools, the food co-ops, the taking back of the resources, the re-making of social structures. We know that the only counter for despair is involvement. Let us put forward practical proposals in a language filled with poetry, humour and love.

MARIUS JACOB'S SPEECH TO THE COURT

"Sirs,

Now you know who I am: a rebel who lives from the fruits of his robberies. Moreover I have set fire to various hotels and defended my freedom against the aggression of the agents of the state. I have laid bare my struggle for existence and submit it as a problem to your intelligence. Not recognising in anyone the right to judge me, I am asking neither for pardon nor indulgence. I am not soliciting what I hate and despise. You are the stronger, dispose of me as you think best. Send me to prison or to the gallows, it matters little to me. But before parting, let me say a last word

You have called a man: "thief" and "bandit," applied the letter of the law and now you ask if it could have been otherwise. Have you ever seen a rich man become a bandit? I have never known any. I, who am neither rich nor a property owner, had only this arm and a brain to assure my conservation, which is why I have had to act differently. Society allowed me only three means of existence: to work, to beg, or to steal. Work, contrary to repelling me, pleases me. Man cannot abstain from work: his muscles and his brain, possess a combination of energy which must be got rid of. What disgusted me was to sweat blood and water for a salary, that which must be got rid of. What disgusted me was to sweat blood and water for a salary, that is to create wealth from which I should be exploited. In one word, I was repelled against consigning myself to the prostitution of work. Begging is degradation, the negation of all dignity. Every man has the right to enjoy life: "The right to live is not begged, it is taken."

Theft is restitution, the regaining of possession. Rather than be closed in a workshop like in a prison, rather than beg that to which I have a right, I have preferred to rebel and fight my enemies face to face, making war on the rich, and attacking their property. I understand that you would have preferred me to have submitted to your laws, that as a docile worker I should have created wealth in exchange for a miserable wage and that, my body exploited and my brain brutalised, I should have let myself curl up and die in a street corner. In that case you would not have called me a "cynical bandit," but an "honest worker." Fawning upon me you would have given me a medal at work. The priests allow their believers a paradise, you are less abstract, you give them a piece of paper.

I thank you very much for so much goodness, for so much gratitude. Sirs! I prefer to be a cynic aware of his rights, than an automat.

From the moment I had possession of my consciousness, I gave myself to theft without any scruples. I do not accept your moral pretence which imposes respect of property as a virtue, when the worst thieves are the property owners themselves.

Consider yourselves lucky that this superstition has grown in the people: in that it is exactly they who are your best policemen. Knowing the weakness of the law, or rather, the strength, you have made them your firmest protectors. But, beware, everything comes to an end. All that which is built by force and cunning can be destroyed by cunning and strength.

The people are evolving continually. Instructed in these truths and conscious of their rights, all the famished, all the exploited in one word, all your victims, will arm themselves with a "pig's foot" attacking your houses to take back the wealth which they created and which you have stolen. Thinking about it carefully they will prefer to run any risk rather than fatten you, while moaning in poverty. Prison . . . forced labour, the gallows . . . are not such terrible perspectives in the face of a whole life of brutalisation, full of every kind of suffering. The boy who struggles for a piece of bread in the bowels of the earth without ever seeing the sunshine, can die from one minute to the next, victim of an explosion of *grisou*. The bricklayer who works on the roofs, can fall and reduce

himself to crumbs. The sailor knows the date of his departure but does not know when he will return. Numerous other workers contract fatal illnesses in the exercise of their trades, they become weak, poison themselves, kill themselves in creating everything for you. Including the policemen, the bodyguards who, for a bone that you throw them, often die in the struggle against your enemies.

Enclosed in your egoism, you remain before this vision, isn't that so? The people are afraid, you say. We govern them with the terror of the repression; if they shout, we shall throw them in prison; if they grumble, we shall deport them, if they become agitated, we shall send them to the guillotine. Bad calculations, Sirs, believe me. The sentences you inflict are not a remedy against acts of rebellion. Repression, instead of being a remedy, or a palliative, does nothing but aggravate the ill.

Coercive measures can only sow the seeds of hatred and vengeance. It is a fatal cycle. For the rest, since you have begun cutting off heads, populating the prisons and penitentiaries, you have perhaps stopped all the hatred from manifesting itself? Reply! The facts demonstrate your impotence. In my case you know exactly that my conduct could not have any conclusion other than the penitentiary

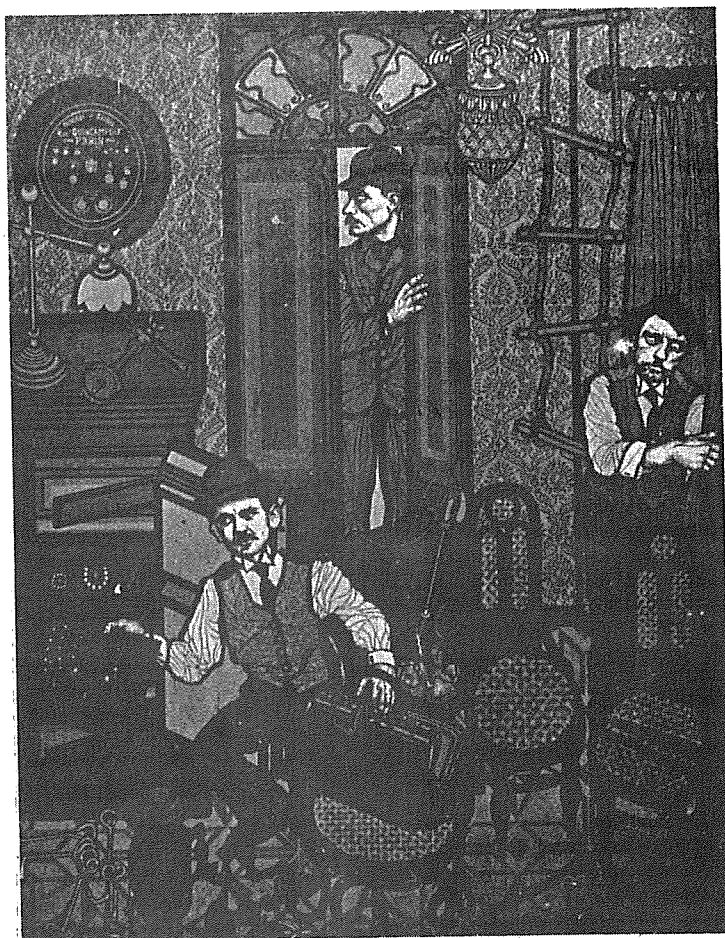


Illustration by Flavio Costantini

On a Sunday in 1902 the anarchist Alexandre Marius Jacob, helped by two of the forty members of his group, broke into a jeweller's in the Rue Quincampoix in Paris, in broad daylight, using an umbrella and a hole in the floor above. The money taken was to assist in financing the anarchist movement. They got away with jewels to the value of 13,000 francs. Arrested at Abbeville in 1904, he was condemned to life imprisonment with hard labour and deported to the Îles de la Santé. In 1929 he was released and died in 1954 at the age of 75. His exceptional personality suggested not only characters such as Arsene Lupin but also, many years later, the robbery technique used by Jules Dassin in his film "Rififi".

or the guillotine, yet, as you see, it is not that which has stopped me from acting. If I have given myself to stealing it is not for gain or for the love of money, but for a question of principle, of right. I prefer to conserve my freedom, my independence, my dignity as a man, instead of making myself the artifice of fortune or of my employer. To put it more crudely, without euphemism, I prefer to be a thief than to be robbed.

Certainly I too condemn the fact that a man violently and cunningly takes possession through the work of another. But it is exactly for this that I have waged war on the rich, robbers of the produce of the poor. I too

should be happy to live in a society where all thieving would be impossible. I do not approve of theft, and I have only used it as a means of revolt to combat the most iniquitous of all thefts: individual property.

To eliminate an effect, it is necessary, preventively, to destroy the cause. If theft exists it is because "everything" only belongs to "some." "The struggle will only disappear when men put together joy and pain, work and wealth, when everything will belong to everyone."

Revolutionary anarchist, I have made my revolution, Anarchy will come!"

(Translated by Jean Weir)

Marius Jacob.



Maurice Leblanc, creator of Arsene Lupin — a character who stands beside Sherlock Holmes, Raffles and Dr. Nikola among the leading figures of pre-World War I detective fiction. Arsene Lupin was based on anarchist Marius Jacob.

THE BENEFITS MORAL AND SECULAR

OF ASSASSINATION

If authority success and eugenic usefulness can sanction homicide, then history records numerous murders which have fulfilled the expectations of their perpetrators, and the names of the assassins command the respect of all who value statecraft, wisdom and courage; for they were the very pillars of all the most successful of older governments. Those most pleasant to live within and most high in achievement.

In the best of these the strongest assassin was the king, for so long as his courage and administrative ability sustained his right to office, and degeneration or abuse of power was corrected by violent dethronement or assassination. The wiser public opinion of the ancient world everywhere approved of assassination as an instrument of political or racial improvement. Works of art abounded.

Since that golden age, it must be confessed, the art has seen only retrogression, almost unchecked. Occasionally some generation or isolated community, by an effort of intellectual emancipation has freed itself temporarily from the domination of the superstitious, the crafty and the stupid; but even in the brightest of these periods the clouds of false civilisation have blinded truly great assassins to the august nature of their deeds, and they are found spoiling some of their own greatest strokes by paying lip-service to the tenets of the mystagogues. Nevertheless encouragement can be found for the hope of a truly universal renaissance (if only the pragmatic sanctions for this art can be made clear to the well-disposed and instructed persons everywhere) in the recurrence, by force of necessity or through individual genius, of natural assassins throughout every generation, persisting even to our benighted day.

The history of Italy furnishes so many successful and repaying murders, that it is difficult to select any one of them as a singular

example. So we shall more profitably study the apostles granted to the less enlightened northern countries. It is to be regretted that in these cold countries a sad misguided moral rectitude clouds and confuses (and so prejudices the success) of the deed; as in the attempt to assassinate William the Third of Holland. The idea of killing that experienced assassin when he was innocently out riding (an ideal moment) was regarded as ungentelemanly.

Again: Cadoudal, a man of monumental courage who wished to kill, but not murder Napoleon; Napoleon is not known to have concerned himself with such nice scruples. In the pursuit and maintaining of power assassination is the most effective means of control or elimination.

The original assassins were Mahomedans of the Shiite party who flourished from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries; being a manifestation of religious enthusiasm they soon sank to the level of Christians. Religion always has a bad effect on assassination, inflating it first to wanton massacre and then to the folly of communal war.

But an even greater corrupting force has been the development of mechanical and chemical devices which, placed in the hands of the ignoble, uninspired and unenthusiastic masses, serve to deprive the assassin of an environment suited to his art. This democratisation of war led to the further refinement of highly indiscriminating means of destruction which threaten not only the assassin's field of action but also war itself. An earth barren of our race could not be the scene of our conflicts.

To fish for trout with the appropriate fly is a noble and self-justifying activity — to poison the stream is the act of a cretin.

In the medieval world the arbitrary action of the assassin was looked upon as better than no justice at all. The assassin, generally

speaking, ceased to function when recognised law became powerful enough to fulfil his function.

"Recognised law?"

"Is not the assassin an amoral anarchist?"

On the contrary; as a rule he is usually useful, if sceptical citizen in any country regardless of its system of government. Assassination is able immediately to benefit any society without causing violent change of political forms; by freeing it from dangerous impurities, removing all anti-social or otherwise unfit persons, venal or incompetent leaders and publicists, thus giving any political system the best chance of attaining its ideal development. All political systems deserve this chance; they represent at their worst and most misguided a dream of progress; and to the objection that a really knave-proof society is impossible to build with human material, the assassin can point out that only a very foolish rogue will risk injuring a society internally (say by commercial monopoly or false news, wanton strike or lockout) if he is likely to be killed by doing so; and politicians will carefully consider the necessity of declaring war in the name of one people upon another if they are certain to be among the earliest casualties.

The least amiable and socially minded of assassins is rendered so by his restless anxiety and impatience for human progress. The assassin knows that in war (especially modern war) the most bestial side of human nature triumphs. The army, that asylum for nits and half-wits, who are unfitted to live in a civilised society in time of peace, is thrown open; the regular inmates become our warders. At such times who dares to be reasonable? And what would be the point.

(Cuddons)

A.C.

BERUFS VERBOTE

State repression in West Germany in the last six years has taken on a new dimension. Police attacks on demonstrators; increased armament for the police force; police raids on flats, houses, bookshops; observation of organisations and individuals by the secret police; employment problems for the left oriented; all these things are new neither in West Germany nor in any other capitalist country. What is new is the use of technology, computers and a wide spread computerised network in order to destroy and prevent opposition from the left systematically and more effectively.

The introduction of such methods of political repression in West Germany have a model character. For this reason, those of us working in the Campaign against the model West Germany feel it is important to inform others about the form of repression in West Germany in order to support comrades in other countries in the early recognition of and in the fighting against such repressive measures. At the same time, we want to contribute, with the information in our articles, to a wide mobilization against these developments in West Germany.

The Civil Service in West Germany "Berufsverbot" is a word that has become integrated into the Dutch, the French, the English, the Danish, the Finnish, the Swedish and the Italian language during the past five years. This German word has been adopted in all these different languages because a similar word for Berufsverbot does not exist in other languages since the practice of Berufsverbot does not exist in other western countries. And what is Berufsverbot? It is the practice of prohibiting people with particular political views to work for the state, that is to become civil servants – a practice proposed, sanctioned and carried out by the government.

In every capitalist country, certain sectors of the society are directly controlled by the state in order to assure the continued existence of capitalism. For instance, the state needs teachers to educate qualified workers who can be plugged into the capitalist production machine who are already so conformed to the social norms of the capitalist society that the production machine continues to run smoothly despite the turnover of individual worker parts. However, the West German form of civil service (Beamtentum) has reached a degree of integration of public sectors in the state apparatus and of infringement on the human rights of the civil servant that can be found nowhere else in Europe or North America.

The West German Civil Service not only includes the administrators, their assistants and office workers etc., it also includes post office workers, railway workers, social workers, teachers, judges. Even the

professional training for lawyers and for teachers is government controlled and those being trained for these professions come into the civil service for the length of the training period and can consequently be subjected to Berufsverbote.

Beamtentum is deeply rooted in a long tradition. It goes back in fact to the feudal times of the 17th and 18th centuries where the building of a state apparatus (of a modern type) under the power of the monarch had begun. From its beginning up until the present, Beamtentum has changed very little. The main characteristic of this civil service is that it demands loyalty to the state from those appointed to it. This traditional element has been carried through from the beginning of the Beamtentum to the present. In other words, the Beamte were or required to be loyal to the government whether it was or is the Feudal system, the Weimar Republic from 1918 to 1933, the Nazi-fascism or the present SPD government. It doesn't matter what the government is – the Beamte has to be loyal to it. In 1937: "The Beamte must defend the National Socialist State at all times and without hesitation and must demonstrate with his entire conduct, the fact that the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) together with the German people are the sole carriers of German State spirit." ¹ In 1971: "The Beamte must support the free democratic basic order according to the Constitution with his entire conduct and must defend its existence." ²

Consequently, the same Beamte who served the state under Nazi-fascism, served the state after 1945 and some are still serving the state today. Although the Allies made an attempt to remove the Nazis from the schools and dismissed many of them, the resulting deficit forced the re-employment of most of them. From the 12,000 teachers in Bavaria who were dismissed because of their membership in the NSDAP, 11,000 were re-employed as teachers by 1948. And the other 100 – likely retired! The same goes for the other branches of the civil service.

Listed in the book *War and Nazi Criminals in the Federal Republic* published by the Document Centre of the state archives of East Germany are 830 names of people who held influential positions during the Nazi-fascism and who are serving the West German state today, or did so up until recently, as judges or district attorneys. Another 11 such cases are to be found in West Berlin. ³

Heinrich Krebs, district attorney at the time, demanded the death penalty for Heinrich Fehrentz (trial in Stuttgart 1943) because he was caught listening to radio broadcasting stations from abroad (which was forbidden at that time) and for

discussing the news from abroad with friends. The death penalty for Fehrentz was carried out. After 1945, Krebs became a judge for the highest court for social cases – e.g. pensions, accidents in factories. ⁴ Erwin Schule, a member of the NSDAP became an officer during the war and commander of the 253rd Infantry Division, a disciplinary battalion. In 1965 the government appointed Schule head of the Central Office for Solving Nazi Crimes. ⁵ Hans Filbinger, a military judge then, condemned a soldier to the death penalty after the cease fire in 1945; the soldier had left his unit to go home. Filbinger is now the prime minister of the state of Baden Wurttemberg and one of the top CDU politicians. Heinrich Lubke, president of the Federal Republic from 1959 to 1969 had been one of the architects who designed concentration camps during the time of the Nazis.

The slow replacement of the old Nazis in civil service is only due to the fact that they are literally dying out. In effect there has been no change over in personnel, in administration, in the education branch, in the legal branch, in the police force, in the armed forces, or in the Intelligence Agencies after 1945.

The State guarantees the Beamte a life job; it is not possible to fire the Beamte as long as he carries out his duties. The state also assures that the Beamte receives a generous monthly income with built-in rises independent of the periodical crises in capitalist production; the wage scale is calculated according to age group – the older the Beamte is, the more money he or she receives. In addition, the state pays a large percentage of the hospital and social insurance for the Beamte as well as providing him with a large pension when he retires.

In return for these advantages, the Beamte has to guarantee his loyalty to the state; the Beamte is, for example, not allowed to strike. "The Beamte serves the people and not a party. (This applies in practice only to the left-wing parties and not to those parties which share the state power). He has to carry out his duties in an unbiased and fair manner and, while administering, he has to keep the well-being of the general public in mind. He must support the 'free democratic basic order' according to the Constitution with his entire conduct and must defend its existence." ⁶ "His conduct both in and out of service must show the respect and loyalty required of his position." ⁷ "The Beamte must keep secret, all matters that have become known to him through his service as a Beamte. ... The Beamte is not permitted to testify in court or inform out of court any such affair without special permission." ⁸

The New Wave of Berufsverbote
The new wave of Berufsverbote in West Germany (in the 1950s there was a similar

campaign during which the Communist Party of Germany was declared illegal in 1956) was officially set in motion by the "Radicals Decree" (Radikalerlass) from January 28, 1972. The Radicals Decree, a joint proclamation (not a law) from the ministers of each state and the Chancellor (Willy Brandt at the time) states:

"The chancellor and governmental heads of the states have released a set of principles concerning the membership of civil servants in extremist organisations.

According to federal and state laws for civil servants (Beamte) and the corresponding stipulations valid for state employees and workers for the state, civil servants are obliged to profess their loyalty to the free democratic basic order according to the Constitution and to engage themselves for its preservation. Endeavours in opposition to the Constitution represent a violation of this obligation. The membership of civil servants in parties or organisations which oppose the constitutional order – as well as the other demands of such parties and organisations – will lead as a rule to a conflict of loyalties. Should this lead to a violation of the obligations, the employer must decide in each individual case which measures are to be taken.

Appointment to the public service takes for granted, that the applicant guarantees that he will actively defend the Constitution at all times. A reasonable doubt of this, as a rule, justifies a rejection."⁹

Before describing the impact of the Radicals Decree, it is important to point out the basic contradictions between the Decree and the Constitution (1948). From the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany:¹⁰

Article 3:

1. All men are equal before the law.
2. Men and women are entitled to equal rights.
3. No one can be prejudiced or privileged due to his sex, his descent, his race, his language, his native country, his belief, his religious or political opinions.

Article 4:

1. The freedom of belief, of conscience and the freedom of religious creed and ideological belief are invulnerable.

Article 12:

1. All Germans have the right to choose freely, their occupation, their place of work and their place of education or training. The practising of an occupation can be regulated by law.

Article 33:

2. Every German has equal access to positions in the civil service according to his suitability, his abilities and his professional achievements.

Countless Numbers of Berufsverbote

It is difficult to estimate the number of Berufsverbote in West Germany at this time. The liberal press and of course the left press frequently report cases of Berufsverbote; all over West Germany, committees against Berufsverbote have been formed. However, the cases of this are so numerous and the communication between the individuals and the countless committees so poor, that it is impossible to statistically compile all the cases. The government departments responsible for the Berufsverbote are reluctant to publish any data regarding the number of people effected by it.

One committee working against Berufsverbote had collected as of June 1975, only

three years after the emerging of the Radicals Decree, information about 308 cases, including 171 teachers, 86 university instructors, 18 social workers, 16 lawyers, 10 employees in health departments and 7 in administration. In addition, another 837 cases were known by name, so that the committee estimated a total of 1200 Berufsverbote. According to a documentary report in a television programme, (Panorama) on February 14, 1977, there are now over 2000 cases of Berufsverbote; other sources give estimations of over 3000!

The Radicals Decree, according to the politicians, was designed to remove the right and left extremists from the civil service where they could have an important influence. Consequently, a large number of "extremists" have been banned from the civil service. But strangely enough, many more "left extremists" have Berufsverbote than right extremists. A count made by the magazine *pad.-extra* in July 1975 showed a total of 553 Berufsverbote for the left oriented and only 5 for the right.¹¹

Although almost every sector of the civil service has been hit by Berufsverbote (lawyers, professors, social workers, post office workers, teachers, train drivers, doctors), the majority of the cases come from the teaching sector. An analysis of these cases that the reasons for Berufsverbote fall into the following categories:

1. membership with extra-parliamentary organisations.
2. sympathising with extra-parliamentary organisations.
3. running in student council elections as a candidate from a left student group.
4. demonstrating solidarity with the interests of the pupils.
5. teaching lessons with an anti-capitalist content.
6. openly criticising school administration.

The following is a sample of some of the cases:

Michael Gorski, living in Mainz, received Berufsverbote in April, 1976 from the Minister of Education in the State of Hessen. The reasons for banning Michael Gorski from the teaching profession are as follows:

1. Gorski attended a teach-in organised by the Communist University Group, Mainz (KHGM) that was held in preparation for a demonstration on December 8, 1972 against the repressive events at the University of Heidelberg (police occupation). At this teach-in a resolution was read (not by Gorski), in which the SDP/FDP coalition government's programme of intensified inner security was criticised as the reaction of the bourgeoisie against the growing socialist movement in West Germany. "With the reading of the resolution, Gorski identified with the politically extreme meaning. At the same time he supported the endeavours of the Communist University Group which strives towards substituting the free, democratic basic order in the Universities of West Germany for a totalitarian system." (From the official justification from the Ministry of Education). The KHGM was a forerunner of the KSV (Communist Student Group), which is the student organisation of the KPD (Communist Party of West Germany), the aims of which are unconstitutional, according to the Ministry of Education.

2. Gorski continued his unconstitutional activities on January 12, 1973 by distributing a leaflet from the KHGM; Gorski himself denies this and the leaflet is oddly enough nowhere to be found in the files!¹²

It should be emphasised here that neither the KPD (which is not the same party that was forbidden in 1956) nor the DKP have been declared illegal. These parties run in state and federal elections. However, the members of these parties are not allowed to work for the state, and not allowed to be Beamte!

Krimhilde Johanne Lenhart took her case to the highest court, but lost the case in February, 1975. The verdict states that she is not allowed to be employed as a teacher (she had just finished her teacher training and should have begun her probation year) because her membership in the DKP lead to doubts that she would stand up for the Constitution at all times.¹³

Ulrich Topp, a high school teacher in Heidelberg was dismissed in February 1972 because as chairman of the high school teachers' group in the teachers' union (GEW) in Heidelberg, he sent a letter to other branches of the union supporting the pupils at his school in a dispute between the pupils and the principal. The pupils had written a leaflet concerning the opinion of one teacher who had told the pupils, they must obey all laws because they are laws. The principal accused the pupils of having an anarchistic disrespect for laws and threatened to set disciplinary actions in motion.¹⁴

Ulrich Scherler received notice of his dismissal as a doctor at a hospital in Berlin in 1975 because he was a KPD candidate for the elections in West Berlin in March 1975.¹⁵

Thomas Kram was not placed in a school in August 1974 after having completed his teacher training. The reasons given for doubting his loyalty are as follows: running in student council elections in 1971 at the Pädagogische Hochschule (PH) as a member of the Rote Zelle; taking part in disturbing lectures at the PH in Berlin in 1971; being a member of a maoist-communist organisation in Berlin; sticking posters announcing a demonstration for the 1st of May; painting slogans on a factory wall (slogan: Equal Pay for Equal Work); covering street signs in West Berlin with the names "Hanoi Place" and "Vietcong Path". After receiving Berufsverbote, Kram took over the management of a left book shop in Bochum. In August 1976, he was arrested and held for a week for selling literature supporting the "use of violence" against the state, a violation against a new law passed in January 1976.

After having successfully completed his teacher training, Bernd Leimann was not placed in a school on February 1st 1977, as were the other teachers who had completed their training with him. The official reasons for his rejection were: running in student council elections in 1972 at the Ruhr University in Bochum for Spartakus, the student organisation of the DKP; taking part in a dance in 1973 and again in 1974 organised by the DKP; attending two meetings of members of the DKP in 1975 in Bochum; being a delegate for a regional DKP conference in 1975.

Juliane Strobele-Gregor, wife of one of the lawyers in the Baader-Meinhof case (who has now been removed from the case) was not employed in December 1976 after completing her teacher training because the administration had doubts concerning her loyalty to the Constitution, although the administrators were not able to provide any evidence. It seems the only disloyalty! Juliane Strobele shows is having married a lawyer who took

on a case to defend members of an urban guerrilla organisation.¹⁶

And what about the right wing extremists? Nobody hears of a member of the neo-fascist NDP (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands) getting Berufsverbote. And there are countless former members of the NSDAP who were placed in prominent positions after the war. Aside from those Nazis already mentioned who remained in the legal sector, hundreds were appointed to positions in the police force. For instance:—

Johann Blankenbach, SS-Unterrufhrer and member of the Gestapo in Karlsruhe became Criminal Inspector in Munich¹⁷ Werner Riese, officer for tactic in the SS and major in the police force became political detective in Hamburg¹⁸. Albert Radtke, spy for the SD, became vice president of the Federal Investigation Department (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz)¹⁹. Reinhard Gehlen, the second man from the top in Hitler's Intelligence Organisation, was appointed president of the Federal Intelligence Agency (Bundesnachrichtendienst) after 1945 by the USA and held this position for nearly twenty years.

Still others became diplomats or received positions in administration. And how many of these extremists have received Berufsverbote? None.

And what do the German politicians have to say to the practice of Berufsverbote? Here are a few samples:

Berufsverbote Doesn't Exist.

Prof. Maihofer, FDP, Minister of Home Affairs:

"The word Berufsverbote is misleading, according to the opinion of the German government, because with this word one understands measures of a punishable character. Applicants that are not accepted are personally or professionally not suitable."²⁰

Bernhard Vogel, CDU, Prime Minister of the State of Rheinland Pfalz:

"He who over the years openly declares that he doesn't want to serve the state, that he instead wants to change it, cannot become a Beamte. It would, however, be terrible if we held against a young girl for life, the fact that she joined the Spartakists because her boyfriend was a member."²¹

Hans Filbinger, CDU, Prime Minister of the State of Baden Württemberg:

"It's not half as bad as it sounds. In Baden Württemberg since October 1973, there have been 64,000 investigations of applicants for the civil service and only 55 of these have lead to a refusal."²²

The mayor of Darmstadt, in a reply to a letter from the mayor of Alkmaar in Holland protesting against the Berufsverbote in West Germany:

"There are no Berufsverbote in our country. There is only a very active communist propaganda on the subject."²³

Helmut Schmidt, SPD, Chancellor, to seven Berufsverbote victims:

"There are no Berufsverbote here. You say, you don't have a job? Then I would say you are unemployed and unemployed teachers are to be found, unfortunately, in many countries."²⁴

More from Helmut Schmidt:

"The question, if young communist teachers should be allowed to teach, I don't think is a cardinal problem of the present German society or even the mass of our workers and tax payers I think, that one can only answer this in each individual case, that each individual case should be investigated and that by these investigations

it is not the point to treat the individuals categorically all the same."²⁵

More and More Investigations

We can be quite certain that parts of Mr. Schmidt's advice are taken very seriously in all the states of West Germany, namely, that every applicant should be investigated before being employed. The intensive investigations of all those working for the state has lead to an extensive expansion of the state apparatus necessary to carry out these investigations and to store the information collected.

Each state has its own Investigation Department (Verfassungsschutz) which is responsible among other things, for collecting information about every civil servant and about every applicant for the civil service, for filing a report about each individual investigated and for holding the necessary inquisitions in "doubtful cases." Since 1972, there have been over 800,000 investigations.

The Federal Investigation Department is the co-ordinating centre for all information about the individual civil servants and the applicants for the civil service from every state in West Germany. During the five years of Berufsverbote practice, 2.5 million files have accumulated in the Federal Investigation Department.

The government is proud of its undertakings in increasing the "internal security" and at the same time protecting the "freedom of its citizens" as it is described in an advertising campaign leaflet from Werner Maihofer, the Minister for Home Affairs. Maihofer also publicises the increases in the budget allotted for internal security:

Federal Investigation Department	1969:	29.9million DM
	1975:	76.9million DM
	Increase:	157.2%

The Reaction of Foreign Countries to Berufsverbote

Not only the leftist but also the liberal and conservative press in the western European countries, Canada and the USA frequently report about and criticise the practice of Berufsverbote. In many countries, committees against the Berufsverbote in West Germany have been formed. The most eye-raising of these was founded in May 1976 when Mitterand, the chairman of the French Socialist Party announced the founding of a "Committee for the Defence of Civil and Professional Rights in the Federal Republic of Germany." However, at the Socialist International in the summer of 1976, it was agreed that all socialist parties in other countries would refrain from openly criticising the West German Berufsverbote policy until after the election in October that year. Notably, Willy Brandt, former Chancellor of West Germany, is chairman of the Socialist International.

In December 1976, various organisations in West Germany, representatives of the PSU (Socialist Party of France) and representatives of the Bertrand-Russell-Peace-Foundation began working out a basis on which a Russell-Tribunal against "Repression in the Federal Republic of Germany" can be built.

Perhaps the concern that is expressed outright or as an undertone, by all the critics in other European and North American countries can best be summarised by the words of the Dutch Senator H. Wielek: "What presently is happening in West Germany — yes, the word happening, it is so neutral — what is being done, that is so nearly a nightmare, when you know people, who are condemned with Berufsverbote, when you sleep in their home for

a few nights, when you live with them, how great is the fear; and then you think, then I think — and that is not a theory — how already in 1932, some months before Hitler became the official leader of the people, you couldn't go into the streets, and how friends of mine, when the telephone rang, were frightened — and this I have also experienced now, this fear, this compact fear, that stands before the people; the fear to open your mouth, the grey conformity that now rules here."²⁶

The Reaction of the Unions to Berufsverbote

Not long after the Radicals Decree became public, the Board of Directors of the United German Unions (DGB — Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund) issued the so-called "Incompatibility Decisions" in which it was declared that "the activities for or the supporting of a leftist organisation, group or party is not compatible with membership in a DGB union."²⁷ This lead to the expelling of many teachers, metal workers, auto workers etc., from their unions, who were members of or supposedly supported certain communist parties or organisations.

As of yet, members of the DKP have not been expelled from the unions. Interesting to note, is that before a teacher can receive financial support for legal aid from his or his union in a dispute with her or his employer, she or he must sign a statement to declare that he or she does not belong to or actively support any organisation which is listed in the DGB "Incompatibility Decisions."

The Board of Directors of the Teachers' Union (GEW) at the federal level expelled the Berlin Branch from the union in August 1976 because this branch was not willing to accept the Federal Teachers' Union statute. But the statute question was only the official reason for the dispute; the dispute was really over the basic principles of democracy within the union and the question of "Incompatibility Decisions". Aside from the entire Berlin Branch, a total of approximately 13,000 members, there have been 151 (figure from Sept. 1976) expulsions from the Teachers' Union in accordance with the "Incompatibility Decisions."

However, Erich Frister, the Chairman of the Teachers' Union, is perturbed over the lack of uniformity regarding the enforcement of the Radicals Decree. "There are members of the DKP or other communist parties or groups, who get jobs and others who don't. Communists, whose parents or grandparents were held captive (in concentration camps) or murdered by the Nazis have a much better chance of getting a job than those who are not able to hide behind the curtain of their ancestors. This has, without a doubt, nothing to do with a democratic, constitutional state."²⁸ He goes on to call the activities in foreign countries against Berufsverbote part of a "slander campaign against the Federal Republic and the organs of her state."

Conclusion

It is clear that the Berufsverbote policy assures the establishment of a selected civil service — a civil service with an enormous scope and free of individual "infiltrators" who are striving for a democratic, socialist or communist society. However, the far reaching and indirect effect of this policy is much more significant. The tactic behind the Berufsverbote policy is to create such a fear in the minds of the people, that no one will dare to belong to a communist or other left oriented organisation, that no one will dare

A BELATED OBITUARY:

Good Riddance To Bad Rubbish

Death of A Salesman



Chou En-lai 1898-1976

TIME Magazine wrote in its eulogy of Chou En-Lai that he never forgave John Foster Dulles for refusing to shake hands with him at the 1954 Geneva Conference. That was where he engineered the famous "compromise" in which he convinced the Vietnamese Stalinists to accept a divided Vietnam and thus paved the way for the genocidal U.S. intervention to come.

Nixon never denied him such an honour, and was toasted by Chou during the period of the most intensive bombing of Vietnam by U.S. B-52s. Indeed, no one could shake hands and toast murderers with the style of Chou En-Lai — which is what undoubtedly led Strangelove Kissinger to dub him "the greatest statesman of our era."

A great statesman he was — an adept hustler with an unmatched rap who could swap off revolutionary movements for trade deals with the grace of a Mandarin trading slaves. Who else could rub the shoulders of the Shah of Iran with such class?

Who else, but possibly Mao, could claim to be fighting fifth columnists while bayoneting the Shanghai proletariat? (Mao and Chou now have worthy successors to follow in their Laurel and Hardy routine of nationalist Chinese business "communism.")

Chou's greatest daredevil feat during the 1930s, by the way, was saving the life of butcher Chiang Kai Shek from imminent execution by militant peasant troops. Thanks to Chou, Chiang went on to his own eminent career. Chou was also good for business and was a chief architect of the Chinese party and managerial bureaucracy of which he was a leading model and prototype.

He is survived by a horde of faceless bureaucrats and party bosses who will certainly continue in his sanguinary tradition of working class treachery and betrayal. Good riddance to bad rubbish!

(Fifth Estate)

to contradict governmental policies (eg. building of atomic energy plants). The whole strategy is aimed at political conformity.

After all it wasn't necessary to release the Radicals Decree; what is stated in the Radicals Decree already appeared in the laws governing Beamte (Beamtengesetze). The content of the Radicals Decree is nothing new. What then could be the reason for making such a fuss over something that already has existed for hundreds of years other than to create a fear? And unfortunately it is working the way the government had planned.

Political involvement towards the left jeopardises the personal future of every individual. Consequently, the future teacher doesn't dare to get involved during her or his years at the university; during the 18 months of special teacher training she or he doesn't dare to raise a critical tone or to teach a critical lesson; during his or her probation (usually 3 years), she or he is very conscious of the constant surveillance under which she or he stands and thus doesn't dare to criticise the administration, to work with students, to demonstrate against atomic energy policy, in support of political prisoners, for smaller classes etc., etc. After all these years of repression, cautious and opportunistic attitudes become internalised, become a way of life. Grey conformity.

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Abbreviations:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| CDU | Christlich-demokratische Union |
| | Christian Democratic Union (conservative) |
| DKP | Deutsche Kommunistische Partei |
| | German Communist Party (Moscow line) |
| FDP | Freie Demokratische Partei |
| | Free Democratic Party (liberal) |
| KPD | Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands |
| | Communist Party of Germany (maoist) |
| NDP | National-Demokratische Partei Deutschlands |
| | National Democratic Party of Germany (neo-fascist) |
| NSDAP | Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei |
| | National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazis) |
| SPD | Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands |
| | Social Democratic Party of Germany. |

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The Organisation of Armed Struggle

COMRADES and EDITORS of
"Il Grido del Popolo"

On the eve of the London Congress it is urgent that every opinion be expressed concerning immediate *revolutionary* action, action that is aimed at bringing the outbreak of revolution nearer.

At this Congress the legalists and parliamentarians will be conspicuous by their absence, and all those present will be in perfect agreement concerning the need for violent means. Therefore, the whole order of the day will be reduced to the following question: How shall we organise the violence?

Two solutions will be proposed: one from the classical school, the other from the modern one. The first will propose the disciplined order of the army division and well-defined battle lines. The second, on the contrary, will support the scattered order of the maniple; the first will require a great concentration of strength, the second, an immense dissemination of strength.



Carlo Cafiero

The first will propose the formation of a colossal body capable of confronting and attacking the State, the other will support the creation of a boundless number of very small organisms or groups into which the monster will become fatally entangled, as in a net. In other words, the whole field will find itself divided between revolutionaries of the authoritarian kind, and anarchists, who will reply to the problem of action: Anarchism.

It is about thirty years since Carlo Pisacane told us how it is necessary to "conspire and plot without idols, without leaders, without anyone having the pretence of commanding and no one bending to obey" (*La Rivoluzione*, Vol. III of *Saggi*, p.155), and his maxim is being confirmed today splendidly by the actions of our brothers in Russia who, organised precisely in circles independent of each other, but all united by the common aim of action, have demonstrated quite clearly how only scattered groups can today succeed over the most tyrannical and Colossal State.

The anarchists in France are organising with the same system: their strength is growing and is already imposing itself on the government.

All the other types of oppression which constitute the remaining States of Europe can be situated between the Russian autocracy and the French republic.

The problem, therefore, is practically resolved. The phalanx and cohort authoritarian military type of organisation has seen its day and is now absolutely impotent, even if it is strong enough to withstand the first clash with the State.

The centralised revolutionary organisation has been broken like a pane of glass in Germany by Bismarck, without a single drop of blood being shed, while the Romanovs, with their gallows and tortures, cannot overcome the scattered organisation of small groups in Russia.

It is true that in Germany the defect was not only in the form, but also in the content of the action. But after all, this compact strength had been so greatly exalted in the electoral field, and so much hope attached to it once the legal field had been barred, that with good reason we can attribute its defeat not only to its legalistic aims, but also to its authoritarian form. Today it has been demonstrated that the doctrine of similitudes will be relegated to the museum along with the armour of bygone times; the strength of the revolutionaries is its antithesis — the doctrine of opposites. To the centralising State,

disciplined and disciplinary, authoritarian and despotic, we must oppose a decentralised force, free and anti-authoritarian. Need we enumerate the advantages of the new system? Apart from the greater strength of attack and resistance, action proceeds far more easily and quickly, everyone *sacrifices* more willingly *possessions and life* for the work of his own initiative, betrayal becomes difficult and of limited damage, defeats partial. All attitudes and all initiatives, finding their full development, give prodigious results, like the *cabiliek* bomb and masterly construction of mines. Therefore, no more offices of correspondence or statistics, no more general plans worked out in advance. That each comrade seek to form in his own locality a group around himself, a handful which will act infallibly. Ten men, six men (*and women*), can carry out actions which will find echoes all over the world.

Hardly will the actions of one group have begun, when the whole country will be covered in groups, and action become generalised. Every group will be its own centre of action, with a plan all of its own, and a multiplicity of varied and harmonic initiatives. The concept of the whole war will be one only: the destruction of all oppressors and exploiters.

Salute e rivoluzione anarchica

Carlo Cafiero

(from *Il Grido del Popolo*, Naples, 4 July, 1881)
Trans. by J.W. from *Anarchismo*

GROSTICISM Ancient Heresy or Kick up the Cassock

The fundamental problem of any religious interpretation of the world is the problem of evil. Only the most credulous of sects, such as the Christian Scientists, endeavour to explain evil as an illusion. Traditional Christian theology accepts that we live in a corrupt or fallen world and, moreover, that suffering is no simple consequence of wrongdoing. Whether satisfactory explanations of why this is so have been proffered is another question. Before Christ, the author of the book of Job wrestled with this problem and came to no conclusion except self-abasement before the vastness of the universe and the unknowable ways of its Creator. Christ himself, according to orthodox theology, was fully human as well as divine and died a real death on the cross. Only a belief in his historical

resurrection can resolve that problem and it still leaves doubts as to whether an omnipotent creator would leave other people — without faith or hope, in many instances — to die or to suffer the multitudinous forms of pain that assail mankind (starvation, disease, torture of body or mind) and make no intervention. Faced with such contradictions of divine order, the Gnostics (not a recognisable sect in themselves but rather a tendency and tradition within other religions) put forward a novel interpretation of evil in creation.

The Gnostic's view of the material world was that it was so corrupt that it had to be entirely repudiated. Creation could never have been the work of a benevolent and omnipotent God. In

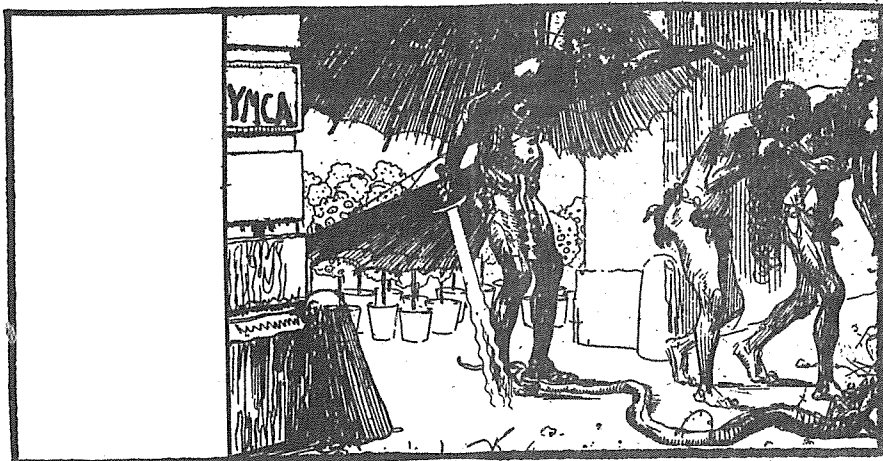
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their view, the true God was beyond creation and almost unknowable – only those initiated into 'gnosis' (special knowledge) could have any inkling of his divinity. The creation of the world was the work of a lesser being, a rebellious demiurge or Archon who in Promethean fashion seized some of God's divine light and, in the process of doing so, found himself kicked out of heaven and fused in fragmented fashion with matter. He became thus the source of individual life in myriads of people on a far less than satisfactory world. Seeing what had happened, God provided a redeemer to lift the broken spirits of men back into fusion with his own divine light. Such ideas were around before the coming of Christ, but it was easy for those conversant with them to accept that Jesus Christ was the true redeemer. Thus began a long struggle in the early centuries of Christianity between orthodox belief that the world and the people within it were, however fallen, the work of God and to be redeemed to Him because he loved them for their own sakes, and the Gnostic view – derivative in many ways from oriental religious philosophy of the Bhuddist type ('bhodi' in bhuddism = 'special knowledge') that the world and individual personality were evil things that required resolution by a redemption which would absorb them back into the transcendent divine being. Because of the differences in these two superficially similar philosophies, the Gnostic Christology was quite different from the orthodox: like the present day Christian Scientists, the Gnostics believed that the divine spirit could never really be touched by evil. Therefore, Christ's body, inasmuch as it was subject to suffering and death, was an illusion – a phantasm necessary only to let mankind know that God had acted. Thus they would have approved of – indeed, laid the foundations for – the later Docetist elaboration of the view that Christ had no human body at all.

The consequences of the belief that the world was fundamentally evil led to two opposite ethical trends in Gnostic behaviour. There developed two reactions to the teaching: the ascetic and orgiastic. Similar essentially dualistic views of the world, splitting reality into two warring halves of light and darkness, good and evil, such as the Persian Zoroastrianism – inevitably contributed to a climate of religious fervour where only two kinds of behaviour could be envisaged. For the strong there was the way of renunciation – monastic and masochistic self-repudiation which tortured the undisciplined body into feats of renunciation – pole squatting for months or years, fasting from food and sex – the whole hair-shirt and beds of nails gamut.



Only the wildest orgy could make plain their spiritual sense of disgust. . . .



For the less strong, the impossibility of a temperate, sanctified way of life in this condemned and useless physical body took the form of deliberately exaggerated self-abuse, organised into communal ritual and worship. Only the wildest orgy could make plain their spiritual sense of disgust. If sex was the profoundest energy of their physical lives, and the mode of bringing more imprisoned souls into a condemned existence, then marriage and having children were themselves evil and the most acceptable offering to God was not family worship but another kind of Christian love feast in which sperm, produced in promiscuous orgy, could be offered directly up to God along with menstrual blood in a religious repudiation of the procreative process. According to Saint Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus (A.D. 315 – 402), in the Gnostic rites the supreme offering – probably rarely practised but certainly theologically consistent with their world-repudiation – was achieved when, if a woman became accidentally pregnant through religious orgy, the foetus was aborted as soon as possible and, broken up and mixed with honey, pepper and herbs, was offered up and consumed by the congregation as the embodiment of the God, saved from earthly life, in the 'perfect Mass.'

Strong stuff, both literally and metaphorically, for any stomachs. Less revolting, but equally interesting is the Bishop's description of the use of snakes at Christian communion services. On Cyprus the goddess Aphrodite and her serpent husband had been traditionally for many centuries the chief divinities. It is not surprising therefore that snakes, interpreted in Gnostic quasi-Biblical fashion, appeared in Christian observances. Going back to Genesis, the Serpent in the Garden of Eden was seen by the Gnostics as the representative of the true God in leading Adam and Eve to the tree of 'knowledge' and back to the gift of eternal life. The serpent raised by Moses to comfort the people pestered by snakes was seen the same way. ("The Lord told Moses to make a serpent of bronze and erect it as a standard, so that anyone who had been bitten could look at it and recover," Numbers 21.⁸) The idea of a Serpent Saviour was amenable to former followers of Aphrodite. In John's Gospel – the most philosophical of the four, appealing to those conversant with Greek thought and Gentile religions – the theme is specifically recognisable again:

"No-one ever went up into heaven except the one who came down from heaven, the Son of Man whose home is in heaven. This Son of Man must be lifted up as the serpent was lifted up by Moses in the wilderness, so that everyone who has faith in him may in him possess eternal life."

(John, 3. 13 – 14)

The reference to Moses would please Jewish Christians but the idea of the serpent had a multiple appeal.

It was the tendency to abuse the world and creation which Paul had to struggle against when defining his understanding of Christian grace and salvation by faith. Although Gnosticism was not fully developed until the second century, he had to guard against those who would too readily accept his teaching that the law of the Old Testament had been superseded by salvation through a Saviour. The Gnostics saw the God of the Old Testament as the evil God of Creation and if creation was evil, so was the law. For Paul, Christ had fulfilled the law on behalf of mankind. Their moral shortcomings were forgiven, but if a man was a true Christian he would keep as much of the law as was truly relevant as he could, aided by the spirit of Christ, and ask forgiveness when he erred. Paul was walking a tightrope between re-assuring those, especially Jewish Christians, who still felt condemned by the law of God:

"The conclusion of the matter is this: there is no condemnation for those who are united with Christ Jesus, because in Christ Jesus the life-giving law of the Spirit has set you free from the law of sin and death."

(Romans, 8.1)

and those who were only too ready to accept an alternative to salvation by deeds and, like the Gnostics of all persuasions, saw *disobedience* to moral laws laid down by the God of Creation as a prime necessity:

"What then? Are we to sin, because we are not under law but under grace? Of course not." (Romans, 6.15.) was Paul's reply to them.

Gnosticism, linked with the Jains of India, with the Zoroastrians of Persia, its 'gnosis' comparable to the 'bhodi' of Bhuddism, went on to trouble the orthodox church for many centuries, especially in the form of Manichaeism – the dualistic teaching of Mani which was very influential in the third century onwards. St. Augustine (354–430) was a Manichaean for nine years before he became a convert to Christianity and his theme of the struggle against the flesh continued throughout his Christian writings (e.g. 'The City of God'). But what has Gnosticism to say to us now? The present philosophical trends away from dualism in the analysis of mental phenomena which has led to the definition of our age as post-Cartesian (Descartes believed the physical and mental worlds were distinct but somehow interrelated) has probably saved us from the kind of excessive spirituality which leads, as we have seen, to repudiation of our physical bodies – we live in a more positive age which, despite the Bomb, does not, like the

ages of Christ, Paul and their contemporaries expect an eschatological intervention by God to put an end to human history. If it happens, it'll be our own bloody fault.

One element of Gnostic thought may linger, however, at least in the questions it can raise. For the Gnostics, the world before them was too horrible for it to have been the work of an omnipotent God. We may agree with them on this, although not sharing their fascinating but improbable solutions to that problem. For them, too, the burden of the self – the individual personality – was something to be escaped from into divinity. This is where Christianity is different from not

just Gnosticism but from pretty well all great religions and monist as well as dualist philosophies. The centrality of Christianity is a man – this is why it is often called a humanistic religion. Christ came to confront and not to escape from the human condition. For the orthodox Christian, he has provided all necessary solutions. I have already indicated areas where I believe objection must still be made. Not everyone – even everyone calling on God – triumphs over disaster in this world. Far from it. And if not in this world, how can we be sure things are any different in the next, if such there be? But if the possibility of courageous living which Christ puts before us

is acknowledged, Christianity may have something to offer still, although stripped of its special offers and its guarantees. But that's another issue. Sufficient that Gnosticism has raised a few interesting questions and suggested that the palace of Philistine complacency which we call orthodox theology needs pulling down before we can make something of this world – our promised land.

Geoff Charlton

(Acknowledgements: J. Campbell, *The Masks of God*, Condor/Viking, 1968; A. Richardson, *An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament*, S.C.M., 1958; C.E.M. Joad, *God and Evil*, Faber, 1942; *New English Bible*, O.U.P., 1970).

SCIENCE: IMAGE AND REALITY

"The scientist should be a man willing to listen to every suggestion, but determined to judge for himself. He should not be biased by appearances; have no favourite hypothesis; be of no school; in doctrine have no master. He should not be a respecter of persons but of things. Truth should be his primary object."

This quotation of Michael Faraday (1791-1867), discoverer of the basic principles of electricity, summarises the qualities of 'science'. Like many aspects of society, science has an image and a reality which do not coincide. Those who have been exposed to a 'scientific training' are presented with a concept and methodology generally going under the name of 'scientific method'. This is presented to the neophyte and lay public alike as an ethos, elevated almost to the status of a creed, by which professional scientists live. Essentially, it is the concept that the scientist must be an ever doubting, ever-questioning, open-minded seeker after truth. The only guide, so the concept preaches, is evidence deduced by painstaking experimentation and observation. 'Nothing but the facts', so to speak.

Unfortunately, image and reality scarcely ever coincide – especially when a power structure is dependent upon the unchanging image. Those who have studied science and worked at the laboratory bench know all too well that the ideal is observed more in the breach than in the practice. Like all histories, the history of science is littered with egotism, vanity and authoritarianism. Time and again, the power of academic orthodoxy has been brought to bear upon ideas and observations which contradict the prevailing atmosphere of 'official' opinion. Just as the Church in its periods of power suppressed contrary opinion with the rack and the scaffold, so the new orthodoxy carries out comparable crusades against heresy.

The trials and tribulations of Galileo are well-documented. Indeed, scientists often quote his story to show how enlightened they are in comparison with the mediaeval church. However, when confronted with the appropriate 'heretic' like Isaac N. Vail (meteorology), Alfred Watkins and Tom Lethbridge (archaeology), Immanuel Velikovsky (astronomy), Wilhelm Reich (psychology-physics), Oliver Bulleid (locomotive engineering) or Albert Szent-Gyorgyi (biochemistry), the upholder of the appropriate orthodoxy will not hesitate in reacting in the selfsame way as the church did with Galileo. Unfortunately, there are many celebrated instances where a new idea, theory or invention has been actively suppressed by whichever establishment it chanced to offend. Almost every branch of investigative knowledge

has its heretics and its orthodoxy.

A well-known case which immediately comes to mind is that of Immanuel Velikovsky, whose theories of catastrophism in the Earth's immediate past were in direct conflict with the opinions of established geologists and astronomers. Whether or not Velikovsky was correct, he was not given a fair hearing by the established 'leaders' of science. Instead, he was attacked with remarkable ferocity, first in the early 1950's when his books emerged, and again in 1974, when the American Association for the Advancement of Science attempted to re-evaluate Velikovsky. In the 1950's, they tried to ban his books altogether, and, when non-scientific publishers produced them, to get them suppressed. In the 70's, ridicule was the weapon. When space research verified one of Velikovsky's predictions, the very hot surface of the planet Venus, the orthodox dismissed the prediction as a fluke, even though it was totally contrary to the expectations of scientists conducting the experiments. (*Velikovsky also predicted the recently proved theory that the polarity of the earth has changed not once but a number of times in history*, eds.)

The reason for suppressing Velikovsky and others like him is clear. The power of an establishment is built in part upon its credibility. Theories which totally oppose those espoused by an elite establishment have to be prevented from reaching the ears of the lower orders of the set-up. If they were allowed to be fairly evaluated, they might prove to be correct, which would then destroy the position of the orthodox elite. As the prestige, power and livelihoods of the established depend upon the maintenance of the status quo, thought control is an easy option. However, by this method, advancement can be and is seriously retarded.

The fanatical upholders of the work of Isaac Newton succeeded in suppressing Young's wave theory of light for over a century. The idolisation of 'great' men of science like Newton or Darwin, like the political idolisation of Marx or the traditional methods of the academy in art and engineering, leads to the establishment of a rigid, self-reinforcing orthodoxy presided over by those for whom the main objective is the guardianship of the status quo.

The organs of knowledge, Journals of the self-styled 'learned societies', directly under the control of an elite, the upper echelons of a hierarchy, serve merely to present evidence to reinforce the status quo. Scientific censorship and thought control, under the guise of the 'peer review' and 'referee' system where papers are sent to anonymous experts (high-up members of the elite) to be

accepted or rejected, is practised in these journals. Since the way to rise in the hierarchy is through publication of work, those who try to publish outside the 'acceptable norms' are refused publication whilst being 'noted' as rebels. Those with ideas which run counter to the cherished paradigms of the establishment are given the cold shoulder. A policy statement from the editors of the *American Journal of Physics* is probably the clearest exposition of this restrictive attitude:

"Controversial or isolated new results yet to be judged in research literature are not acceptable. Included in the latter category are papers purporting to discredit bodies of physical theory (such as specialised relativity, quantum mechanics and thermodynamics) which are part of the generally accepted physics curricula..." (my italics) *American Journal of Physics*, Vol. 43, p.1, 1975.

The vested interests of education and research grants do not want to rock the boat. Funding of new research is under the control of the same elite either directly or indirectly, through experts or committees or as advisors. Money is allocated to areas which are extensions of existing work – i.e. in the 'mainstream'.

Those who are interested in the ideas, theories and inventions of the unorthodox outcasts are themselves dismissed as cranks or labelled as dangerous. Official abuse is heaped upon them. In archeology, those who investigate the works of Maltwood and Watkins are invariably referred to in the orthodox journal *Antiquity* as the 'lunatic fringe of archeology'. No unbiased attempt to evaluate the work has ever been made by the orthodox – it is dismissed, as to accept it would sweep away the cherished theories of respected professors who have spent a lifetime on building up their power and reputations.

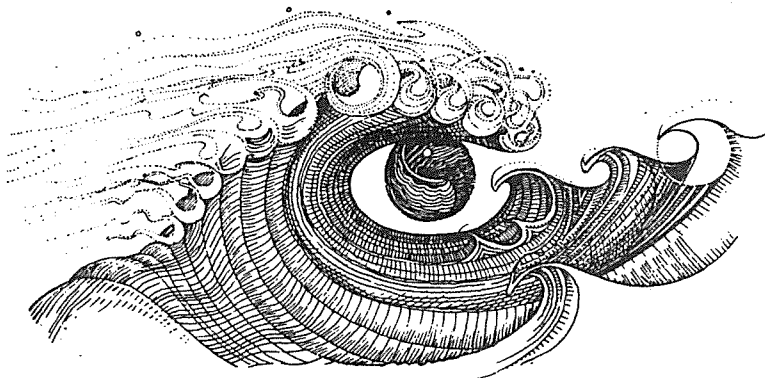
What relevance has any of this to the real world of neutron-bombs, torture and repression? One may ask. The cloistered existence of the academic scientist, whether of the orthodox or 'crank' persuasion may appear to have little to do with the lives of the 'person on the Clapham Omnibus' (if it still runs). However, the stifling of creativity, the exclusion from the culture of the world of ideas which may enrich life, is a hidden form of censorship far more insidious than the incessant banning of books so beloved by governments the world over. In Szent-Gyorgyi's case, it may delay the discovery of a cure for cancer. In other cases, the cause is even more fundamental. It underlines the control which an elite few wield over the many, a model for the other fields of human life where those who believe they should rule have not yet encroached.

Nigel Pennick

SCIENTISTS IN COLLISION

The anthropologist, Lord Raglan, pointed out that "one of the most surprising things about anthropological literature is the number of utterly unproved assumptions that succeed in passing muster as unquestionable facts." He had in mind the once supposed dire results of incest; equally one could point to the horror of the effects of masturbation — "it comes to be believed that such laws were instituted by supernatural authority, and cannot be broken without bringing down upon the transgressors punishments unconnected with the crime by the ordinary laws of cause and effect."

This passing muster equally applies to assumptions supposed to be scientific which become orthodox beliefs. Today, the only penalty of questioning orthodoxy is to be regarded as a crank . . . it was once more serious. Some cranks incidentally, do very well with such aberrations as Scientology, but scientists trying to make valid points are dismissed by the scientific establishment with all the force at their command which nowadays only means exclusion from academic faculties and facilities, but often to financial success via literature, where they are snapped up by a public eager to follow heretical paths and believing no longer that mysticism is the prerogative of religion.



Newtonian Physics

Would you take seriously a man who explained the motions and laws of the universe; who had a brilliant scientific brain and was a mathematical genius — but had never heard of electro-magnetism and did not understand the part it had to play; and assumed that errors in the universal system were corrected by the Lord somewhat like a watchmaker corrects a clock?

No? But the scientific world still accepts Isaac Newton. None of his assumptions are questioned and in particular the one that says that as the universe is today and as we now see the arrangements of the stars, so it has been fixed — maybe not "since the Creation" as Newton would have said, but for an incalculable space of time, and we can date back our calendars from here. While there may well have been a big bang and a global catastrophe in a period long before life arose on the earth, no such catastrophe could have taken place since.

Why Not?

Immanuel Velikovsky says that "we are survivors of survivors", that there has been a repeated major cosmic catastrophe within recorded history, and that we have records of it both written and by rocks, fossils and remains. This entails stating that a large part of the Bible is literally true, at any rate from the time of the Exodus onwards (that is to say, when it was written down rather than telling of ancient beginnings). Had he been writing 200, 150 or even 100 years ago, he would of course been regarded as the leading scientist and would have pre-empted Darwin and Huxley. All scientists had to pay lip service to the truth of the Bible. With the growing scepticism of the early part of the Bible, science came into conflict with religion. Now it has all been discarded. Though it is regarded as true, it is apparently only so on Sundays and is otherwise worthless. If miracles happened it was in Palestine and affected nowhere else — an absurdity which the education curriculum perpetuates. Velikovsky takes a rational approach to the Biblical or other legends: "If cosmic upheavals occurred in the historical past why does not the human race remember them and why was it necessary to carry on research to find out about them? . . . historical inscriptions and legendary motifs often play (*in the collective amnesia*) the same role as recollections (infantile memories) and dreams in the analysis of a personality." His

theory about the collective-amnesia of the world in regard to catastrophes of the past is not so far-fetched when you consider the collective amnesia in face of the nuclear death threat facing the globe now; and all people can fear are the wicked "terrorists" who may take action *against* the implementation of the threat.

If catastrophes occurred they would have been recorded but miraculous theories ascribed to them. The latter would be the suppositions of mankind; but that would not be to say the events did not happen. According to Velikovsky, for instance, the sun did seem to stand still — but obviously not at the behest of Joshua. A major catastrophe happened at the time, which he goes on to record, because of a disturbance to the world's axis by cosmic disturbance. The plagues of Egypt followed by the crossing of the Red Sea, did take place — though not because the Lord had intervened in the inner politics of Egypt. The Jews ascribed this major world catastrophe, entailing destruction of the oppressor, in terms of the Lord stepping in, a unique interpretation which gave their religion its special place in subsequent

history. For the rest of the world these events were a major catastrophe, and Velikovsky draws on the history of the Mediterranean peoples, and of the rest of the world, tracing all folklore, legends and histories into the same sources — the Fall of Troy, the legends of Mexico, the histories of China; all telling the same story.

It is very difficult for a layman to contradict him and he must be read in extenso; he has the advantage of being intensely readable, forthright and convincing in style, and either a major scientist or a major story-spinner (not a contemptible role either). He ascribes no supernatural or mystical origins; on the contrary if he is correct, he makes all supernatural and mystical stories rationally explicable. Never before have I heard explained really well the Greek "gods" or how they were supposed to join in the fighting for Troy, for instance; and his explanation of miracles from the time of Moses to those of Hezekiah would satisfy the National Secular Society as well as those who would say the Bible was right . . . the only reservation being that Velikovsky would draw different morals — not that the "Lord was wroth" but simply, that worlds come into collision at times. Briefly, these "gods" were the planets; Mars and Venus, then comets, he says, came into collision, affecting the earth.

Censorship

The cogent point is that, while this may not seem to represent a major difference with the Establishment — it rather would have afforded a chance for religion and science to co-exist had it come along at the right time — in making his points, Velikovsky has to demolish a lot of "authorities" who owe their eminence solely to being unchallenged; he doesn't mind who he takes on, and he rakes some of the strongest held scientific fortresses with fire, and while it may be said that only a few of his assumptions have been proved right beyond doubt, certainly none of his criticisms have ever been answered. He has been met with abuse and censorship by the academic authorities and has appealed over their head to the general public, being well able to do so, unlike other scientific rebels, by virtue of the fact of his readability.

For instance, purely as a side issue to the major theme of worlds in collision comes the revelation, or allegation, that the Egyptologists are out 600 years in their reckoning which has caused major mistakes not only in Egyptian history but in all histories of the Middle East; whole civilisations have been invented by the academics to cover up their errors, entailing major endowments devoted to non-existent cultures. But granted that he is right in his assumption, he makes out an entirely logical correlation between Israelite and Egyptian history, and the history of the rest of the ancient world, particularly of Greece — throwing in, in one fascinating book, the identity between the Pharaoh Akhenaten and Oedipus Rex, with arguments that even to a layman sound convincing.

What is revealing of academic weaknesses is the way in which the background and personality of the scientist colours their interpretation. For instance, Lyall was a sober, conservative man who dreaded accidents and hated revolution; he pronounced in favour of the evolutionary theory

having appeared for ever, against catastrophism — solely because he hated the idea of catastrophes. As Velikovsky remarks quite rightly, catastrophism does not contradict evolution, it defends it; but we must look at evolution in the light of Hiroshima, not from the deck of the Beagle. It would take millions and millions of years for the east change in evolution; but cataclysmic changes speed up the process. A nuclear explosion might produce a variation in the genes involving — who knows? — pigs with two heads. We know this now; it was inconceivable to Darwin. To visualise how long it would take by evolutionary process is to see its impossibility.

Velikovsky too is very influenced by his Jewish background; for a correlation of the histories of Israel and Egypt very much adds to Israel's glories. For instance, he ascribes anti-Semitism originally to the mistake of Manetho in identifying the Jews with the Hyksos who (as a result of the 600 year theory) are identified as the Amalekites — enemies of the Jews and of all mankind generally, whom

the Jews destroyed but with whom the Egyptian historian Manetho, much later, confused with them (the oppressors with the oppressed). Yet it can be seen much more clearly that if, in a world catastrophe in which all the world suffered, as Velikovsky says, the Jews alone celebrated this as a deliverance from bondage and indeed boasted their God had caused it, it would be a much more potent cause of anti-Semitism in the ancient world.

Another reservation of Velikovsky is his reliance on the corrected mistranslations from Hebrew and other ancient languages by which one can prove almost anything — like the gay vicar on the radio explaining that the Bible doesn't condemn buggery as an abomination, if one understands ancient Chaldaic one would know that what it was condemning was unkindness. . . well, it's a pity the Lord couldn't find more reliable means of communication than some of the languages he picked. . .

The Velikovskyan reconstruction of ancient history and the capitulation of cosmic world disasters, involving as it does clarification of the

cause of myth and explanation of natural disasters, has no ulterior motive. Unlike those deservedly relegated to the crank ranks, he ascribes nothing to one or more gods, and regards them all as mankind's attempt to explain natural disaster. The best conceived gods have a habit of coming down to earth and appointing prophets who run a nice little business explaining their ways; but this has nothing to do with his approach which is scientific enquiry, and he has deserved better of his critics than suppression, vilification and abuse. But it is something which those who tilt at the establishment have found in many fields other than the academic.

Albert Meltzer

(Books by Immanuel Velikovsky include: *Worlds in Collision*, £1.25; *Earth in Upheaval*, 80p; *Ages in Chaos*, £1.25 (all published by Abacus); and his latest work, *Peoples of the Sea*, £5, 95, Sidgwick & Jackson).

A PARTIAL CHECKLIST OF INTERNATIONAL

Anarchist Papers

AROUND THE ANARCHIST PRESS

Details are extracted from the most recent issues that we have seen, and we have attempted to be as accurate as possible in compiling this list, but readers should bear in mind that subscription rates and frequency of publication are likely to change without notice.

Against the Grain: a libertarian socialist newspaper, PO Box 692, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011, USA.

English language. bi-monthly. sub. rates: \$5 annual. (USA, so add extra for overseas postage.) \$2 for unemployed or unpaid. single copy, 25¢ plus post. Special sustaining subs. available. Presents a coherent libertarian approach to workplace organisation and related issues. Well illustrated.

BASTA. B.P. 105, 31013 Toulouse, Cedex, France. French language. bi monthly. sub. rates: 10 issues for 15 Francs..

Examines contemporary issues from a libertarian standpoint. Very imaginative graphics.

Black Eye. Available from Black Eye Collective, 30 Belmont Avenue, Clifton, Swinton, Manchester, M27 2WL. English language irregular, sub. rates: free.

Duplicated magazine intended for local propaganda, but interesting to most people.

BRAND. Anarkistisk tidskrift. Box 150 30, 10465 Stockholm, Sweden. Swedish language. bi-monthly. Sub rates: single issue 4 kr, plus p. Anarcho-communist paper that contains really good coverage of state terrorism in Europe. Well illustrated and recommended.

Boletín de la Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores. Sec. A.I.T., J. Munoz Congost, 38 rue Victor-Chabot, 87000 Limoges, France. Other details please enquire.

Bulletin of the International Workingmens Ass.

Bulletin of the Anarchist Federation of Baden. ABF Info-Buro, Postfach 161, 717 Schwabish Hall, Germany. German language: appx. monthly. sub. rates: free.

Good detailed coverage of events in Germany, plus international news.

The Dandelion. Michael E. Coughlin Pub., 1985 Selby Avenue, St. Paul, Min. 55104, USA. English language. quarterly. Sub. rates: \$3.50 annual, USA. \$4.50 elsewhere.

New libertarian journal which appears to be taking its stand in the Spooner/Tucker "stream" of anarchism.

FIFTH ESTATE. 4403 Second Avenue, Detroit, MI 48201, USA. English language. Monthly. Sub. rates: \$4 annual, USA. \$6 elsewhere.

A really excellent paper that combines sharp insight with a practical perspective to produce one of the best anarchist papers published in the USA. Highly recommended!



Free Socialist: an occasional paper of anarchist opinion. PO Box 1751. San Francisco, Ca. 94101, USA. English language. irregular. Sub. rates: no rates but donations welcome payable to Harry Siitonen.

This is a kind of bulletin made up from a few stapled sheets of duplicated paper. Much too short to allow the development of some very good ideas. Every issue contains something of interest.

FREIE ARBEITER STIMME. 33 Union Sq. West, Room 808, New York, N.Y. 10003, USA. Hebrew language. Monthly. Sub. rates: \$7 annual. single issue \$50.

Now in its 87th year of publication, this paper is published by the Free Voice of Labour Ass.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER. 752 West Webster, Chicago, Ill. 60614, USA. English language. Monthly. Sub. rates: \$2.50 annual (USA, so add extra for overseas postage). Single copy 25¢.

Paper of the Industrial Workers of the World. A good paper that includes coverage of industrial organisation in many countries of the world. Always a good read.

LE REFRACTAIRE: organe libertaire pour la defense de la paix et des libertes individuelles. May Picqueray, B.P. 27 Le Pre St. Gervais, 93310, France. French language. Monthly. Sub. rates. 25 F. annual, France. 30 F. abroad. Libertarian paper concerned with civil liberties.

TIERRA Y LIBERTAD. Domingo Rojas, Apartado Postal M-10596, Mexico 1, D.F. Spanish language. Monthly. Sub. rates: unknown. Produced mainly by Spanish exiles in Mexico. Good news coverage of the Spanish speaking world. Most issues contain extracts from the works of well-known anarchist writers (e.g. Malatesta, Kropotkin, etc.)

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The Golden Ka OF DARRIS WHEATLEY

The Victorian middle-classes were so enraptured with the gentility of Sir Walter Scott that even those with a non-conformist background swooned over the religion of the 'nice sweet-scented gentry' in his novels – George Borrow's Romanising priest in *Lavengro* knew at Birmingham 'the daughter of an ironmonger, who screeches to the piano the Lady of the Lake's hymn to the Virgin always weeps when Mary Queen of Scots is mentioned, and fasts on the anniversary of the death of that very fine martyr, Charles the first.' In the States, negro slavery made possible the whole way of life known as the old South, a genteel veneer over bondage that came direct from Scott's pretensions, and disappeared forever with the first shots at Fort Sumter. The disinterred relics of the current Down South have been dug up by the latter novelists of the *Gone With The Wind* type, harping on a vanished society that would not have admitted such Yankee scribbles within its gates and re-enacting a parody for the benefit of a highly race-conscious society that does not dare to dig too far back into its grassroots.

Americans scorn the dastardly Yankees in the Civil War, Britons the Parliamentarians in theirs. Borrow's priest laughed at the Dissenters' daughters in their boarding schools singing:

*Would you match the base Skippon of Massey
and Brown,
With the barons of England, who fight for the
Crown?*

'He! He! Their own names!' he cried. If Dennis Wheatley dared to write about Scott's period, he too would be scornfully deriding the Anglo-Saxon men of Wheat who were his forebears, and swooning over the gallant Norman who subdued them. Perhaps for this reason he has missed over that period, and his historical novels – while jumping back as far as Ancient Egypt (Did you know there was a communist rebellion then?) jump to the French Revolution and onwards. Ambitious young men read his novels and scorn the lowborn peasants. Mr. Wheatley's sympathies are always with the blueblooded and powerful Roger Brook (one of his typically aristo-fascist heroes – not indeed the typical fascist, but as the typical fascist would like to see the typical fascist) is worried when there are merchant seamen who do not attend the Church service. Naturally, the Puerto Ricans on board, being Catholics, would not attend a C. of E. service, but when some English seamen do not, it is a sign that they have been corrupted by the Methodists, and are well on the way to communism.

But the type of seaman he describes at the ships' head prayer meeting is just the sort of seaman who reads Dennis Wheatley. In the Merchant Navy he ranks as the best-selling author after Westerns, science fiction and the current erotica; and bookselling experience shows him to be the most widely read author in police hostels and the lower ranks of the man who invariably gets outwitted by the

army. Indeed, he appeals to that class of young elegant heroes of his own creation, while the middle class barely tolerate him (those on the same level of bad reading prefer Ian Fleming), and the aristocracy do not even choose to acknowledge his existence. It is doubtful if even his own characters would care to have much to do with him – I can only think that the Duke du Richleau might think him a jumped up cur, at best, and Roger Brook would suspect him of communism (as being too clever by half for a working man).

It is no laughing matter to see an author snubbed and cuffed by the creatures of his imagination, and if at times I think harshly of Mr. Wheatley and his effect upon public taste, I always soften to pity when I think that he carries around with him his own private hell: a fashionable salon in his heart from which he is ever excluded.

On the whole, English proletarians in the Wheatley world doff their caps respectfully to the clean limbed heroes – if they do not, watch out, they are planning revolution. Sad that Wheatley too much touch his forehead deferentially to the Duke of Richleau, his favourite and most class-ridden creation, who is utterly unable to understand why Simon Aron, a Jew, almost his adopted son, whom he saved (literally) from the Devil himself, feels some repugnance towards the Nazis for their anti-Semitism which overcomes his scruples as a capitalist against communism. Surely, the Duke asks him, he cannot compare the minor discomforts suffered, most regrettably, by a few Jews, with the methodic wiping out of an entire propertied class, as happened in Soviet Russia?

This would be understandable if Wheatley himself were anti-Semitic; but on the whole he is not (he is genuinely appalled by the indignities inflicted on a propertied class as being of a greater magnitude than anything else he could conceive of), he even is another opus, recognises the innocence of Dreyfus, while taking the Catholic and Royalist line that the whole thing was a plot by Freemasons and Socialists to destroy the Church and Army.

Mr Wheatley is a Catholic by politics, as has been observed; but he is hardly a Christian by religion (none of the one man to one woman stuff for him) and this enables him to get the best of both worlds as a Romanising Royalist and frankly pagan amoralist, with an additional world to be enjoyed as an occultist, as the practice of devilry and witchcraft is constantly combatted by his smart young thugs who act as exorcising Fathers between women. His witchcraft is that admitted by Montagu Sommers and the lunatic wing of the Roman Church; one sometimes wonders if it might not be possible to exorcise the evil spirit that has taken hold of Mr. Wheatley which leads him to bedevil history.

He is not a Dumas pere who claimed that he might commit rape on history provided it led to the birth of a child: Wheatley's casual rape upon history is committed solely to perpetuate a trauma.

His mystique of history is the ramification and codification of prejudice, and if this makes it readable, it is because his readers cope principally from the institutionalised class that doffs its cap along with the author before the upper class of history. They reject Rafael Sabatini (today read, it would seem, only by women), though a much better writer of historical swashbuckling, because they prefer in an indistinct way the brutality and casual approach to life of the Wheatley heroes. The cool way in which Wheatley's women are taken by the ever-confident, never flustered heroes, appeals to those who are still in the stage of fumbling inexperience. And daringly (to them), such men are above the Christian monogamous ethic; and while they never divorce, their wives do not always survive much beyond the years of passion.

His particular mystique of history leads to fascism at the present time – and only British patriotism saves him from supporting the Nazis after 1939 (even then, Gregory Sallust feels some qualms since he has always been anti-communist, and still feels Mussolini was a good guy anyway).

Wheatley even presumes to deal with the Spanish Revolution when he has finished with the French. He has a rough idea of the divisions of the Left, though he never quite manages to sort out the Anarchists, for whom he has a horrible fascination – they are clearly villains who want to destroy everything and everybody, and yet one cannot get away from the fact that they are anti-Soviet. A feeling of dismay clutches one when one realises that the *Golden Spaniard* is all the history whole generations will get of the Spanish Revolution, and that Wheatley's distorted camera may set the viewpoints of many yet unborn, just as one novel by Dickens, based on one episode in Carlyle, has led various generations to think of the French Revolution as one long succession of horrors.

But such writers as Wheatley are dangerous not only because of their impact upon the public. He wrote for George VI's personal use a fictionalised version of what would happen in the event of an invasion. George knew Wheatley would always show the upper classes in a good light, and that Wheatley could show them a way, in the event of defeat and national humiliation (such as that with which Revolutionary France was threatened) in which they retained their self-respect and ruling positions, and kept down the rabble. Was it just diversification? For the king, originally, it was a way of keeping up his spirits. But these stories were actually passed on to Churchill's War Cabinet, which seriously used them as an ethical and tactical reserve of ideas as to what to do when the Nazis came. You may be quite sure that just as Dr. Johnson saw in his reports of Parliament that the Whig dogs did not have the best of it, the literary whore chosen for this exercise saw to it that the working classes, yes, and his own readers in particular damn their eyes, did not get the best of it. (Cuddons) Albert Meltzer



Dmitrov, 1921. Anarchists assemble at the railway station to pay their last respects to Peter Kropotkin whose body was being taken to Moscow for interment. The funeral of Kropotkin was the last major and legally permitted demonstration of Anarchists in Russia and heralded the end of that brief period of open activity between the death of the old regime and the final establishment of the new dictatorship. Anarchists were released from prison to take part in the march (on parole, which nobody broke).

The Death of Kropotkin

Emma said there had been snow
and a cold wind sighing in the wither'd branches
I imagined trivial details
sheepswool caught in the thorns
red berries
and a prophet's dead face on the pillow.

She said he had died in peace
and the eternal intelligence on his brow
had seemed like a light
in the dark unlit hut.
I imagined
his steel-rimmed glasses on the side-table
and a book abandoned.

She said there had been no great concourse of people
walking out from Moscow
or from the nearest station
poor humble people — Lenin had let them come
to sidle lovingly past
his silent form.

Several hundred people, simple people
fur caps down to their ears
padded trousers criss-crossed with string
standing there on the obliterated road
waiting for the cortege.

Dmitrov was the name of the place.
They took his body to Moscow
and there formed a procession
perhaps a mile long
old revolutionaries, young students
and children carrying wreaths
of holly and laurel.

They marched five miles
carrying the black and scarlet banners.
The feathery snow was falling
gently on his bier
gently on the bowed heads
and the patient streets.

But when they reached the burial place
the snow had ceased
and the winter sun
sinking red
stained the level glittering plain.

A river of glowing light
poured into the open grave
all the light in the world
sank with his coffin
into the Russian earth.

It was seven versts outside Moscow.
On the steps of their museum
the Tolstoyans had gathered
to play mournful music
as the cortege passed.

It was dark then and silent.
I remembered, said Emma, the cairn he had found

or: the last mountain ridge
a heap of stones and broken branches
with tokens attached of horsehair or rag
and the cry: "The waters before us
flow now to the Amur.
No mountains more to cross!"

No mountains more to cross
dear comrade and pioneer.
You have crossed the Great Khinghan
travelling eastward into rich lands
where many will follow you.

Herbert Read

The Anarchists song:
— to all men of power.

Fange

we are kept in poverty and ignorance
by the projections of your fear,
of your greed for power.
we are kept in terror and confusion
by your protection racket politics,
by your nursery rhyme propaganda.

but slowly, like a crystal forming,
self-awareness liberates our minds,
cell by cell, person by person,
until we are truly free,
until we are truly human beings,
separate yet united in mutual trust;

your awkward puppets shall dance no more,
and you, the puppet masters will vanish
into the shadows of our fulfilled dream.

Fange

Gift For A Believer (For Flavio Costantini)

It is Friday, a usual day
in Italy, and you wait. Below
the street sleeps at noon.
Once the Phoenicians came that way,
the Roman slaves on foot,
and later the Nazis. To you came
the Anarchists chanting, "We shall inherit,"
and among them Santo Caserio
who lost his head for knifing
the President of France, the ambassador
to hell. Came little Ferrer
in his long gown who taught
the Spanish children to question.
His fine hands chained behind
his back, his eyes of a boy
smeared, he swings above the stone trench
of Montjuich. The wind came
to blow his words away, then snow
that buried your childhood
and all the promises, that rusted
out the old streetcars and humped
over your father's graves.

In your vision Durruti whispered
to an old woman that he would
never forget the sons and daughters
who died believing they carried
a new world there in their hearts,
but when the doctor was summoned
and could not stop his wounds
he forgot. Ascaso, who fled
with him to Argentina, Paraguay,
Bruxelles, the first to die
storming the Atarazanas Barracks,
he forgot. The rail yards of Leon
where his father doubled over
and deafened, forgotten. That world
that he said is growing here
in my heart this minute
forgotten. When old Nathan Pine
gave two hands to a drop-forge
at Chevy, my spit turned to gall
and I swore I'd never forget.

When the years turned to a gray mist
and my sons grew away without faith,
the memory slept, and I bowed
my head so that I might live.
On the spare hillsides west
of here the new lambs stumble
in the fog and rise. My wife kneels
to the cold earth and we have bread.
I see and don't believe. Farther
west the ocean breaks
on cold grey stones, the great Pacific
that blesses no one breaks
into water. So this is what
I send you, friend, where you wait
above a street that will waken
into dark shops, sellers of flour
and onions, dogs, hawkers
of salt, iron, lies. I send
water to fill your glass
and overflow, to cool your wrists
in the night ahead, water
that runs like a pure thread
through all my dreams
and empties into tears, water
to wash our eyes, our mothers' last wine,
two palmfuls the sky gave us,
what the roots crave, rain.

Philip Levine



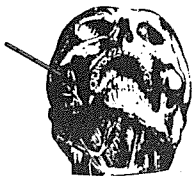
Woke one bright morning – not so long ago – heard
the sound of shooting from the street below:
Went to the window and saw the barricade of paving
stones the workmen had made – not so long ago.

Met a man that morning – not so long ago – handed
me a leaflet, on the street below. Lean and hard-
faced workingman with a cropped head – held
me for a moment. He said: Read it,
read it, read it and learn what it is we fight for,
why the churches burn.

Down on the Ramblas she passed me on her way, weapon
cradled in her arm – it was but yesterday. Not
just for wages now, not alone for bread – we're
fighting for a whole new world, a whole new world,
she said.

On barricades all over town – not so long ago – they
knew the time had come to answer with a simple Yes
or No. They too were storming heaven – do you think
they fought in vain; that because they lost a battle
they would never rise again; that the man with the
leaflets, the woman with a gun, did not have a daughter,
did not have a son?

Hugo Dewar
(Socialist Worker, 23 Aug. 1975)



Ecological Poem

Well may you sing of the sickness of men
spilling and spoiling, consuming the earth;
gross grabbing of ungodly gain,
burning, brass-faced, or in bastardly fear.
Who putrifies the pothered smoke,
chokes the tubing of the carriageways?
Murmuring heart of the heaving metropolis,
who exhasts you of leaf, tree, sunlight and air?
You have shown me the hangmen, oh hawk-eyed
friend

with your gentle wife and your laughing child;
They have buttons for eyes, and a bag of bones
computing the logarithm of each of our deaths.
Roots of the fall-out of atomic years,
flowering in exotic cancers of the flesh,
flourish without fallow, a fatal digging
fertilised by freedom in her concrete coat.
I see the black sheep, poisoned legs in the air,
jab his umbrella ineffectually
while his pin-stripe suit disappears beneath
the rushing hordes who outrace the clock.
Float me off further, to festering coastlines,
the shit shallow-swimming from skittering homes;
sweaty the sewagemen's seamy shirt
as we barge back through bends under tower-
block flats.
Teach me, my friend, through my sightless steel
frames

to gaze with desire at monotonous walls
and stiffen my interest in the cardboard curves
of billboard beauties and subway love.
Never, you say? Well, then, break me and blast
me!

grip me and grout me in girders of iron;
I through "Computerize!" now can see nothing;
and fixed smiles betray empty brains, bland and
blind.
No, lead me away to your countryside dwelling,
your crops and your creatures, though few, will
suffice;
Here, nature, by nature both tender and tearing,
is drained of blood, held in the jaws of a vice.

Geoff Charlton.

Farewell!

We cannot break our chains with weak desire,
With whines and supplicating cries.
'Tis not by crawling meekly in the mire
The free-winged eagle learns to mount the skies.

The gladiator, victor in the fight,
On whom the hard-contested laurels fall,
Goes not in the arena pale with fright
But steps forth fearlessly, defying all.

O victory, O victory, dear and fair,
Thou crownest him who does his best,
Who, perishing, still unafraid to bear,
Goes down to dust, thy image in his breast.

Farewell, O comrades, I scorn life as a slave!
I begged no tyrant for my life, though sweet it was;
Though chained, I go unconquered to my grave,
Dying for my own birth-right – and the world's.

Ricardo Flores Magon

(Written just before Magon's death while imprisoned
in Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary in Kansas.
Magon was an active Mexican anarchist who was
arrested by the U.S. Government at the behest of
the Mexican Government. See article by D. Poole
in this issue.)



Armageddon

We sit there and whisper and wonder
Of the woes that are coming on earth,
When the stooped, silent toilers in thunder
Shall ask what the ages are worth.

There'll be curses and cries for the reasons,
And a tempest of feet on the stairs;
And kings will turn white in their treasons,
And prelates grow pale at their prayers.

There'll be cries – there'll be beating of hammers,
For the anarchs will gather again!
There'll be knocking at gates – there'll be clamors
By night – there'll be whirlwinds of men.

Edwin Markham

Ode To Amazon Nation

My mother was an Amazon
my daddy was a whore
I am a liberated woman
I don't struggle anymore

Mama fought the System
and confronted Daddy's power
Mamma made her revolution
it was her finest hour

Mom and Dad are old and tired now
living with memories
I spend my time in barrooms now
drinking gin and herbal teas

Amazon Nation has triumphed
and women run the show
we're politicians, cops and generals now
keeping our sisters in tow

The hand of the lady president
is the hand of a woman at war
the sex of the hand on the trigger
functions the same as before

Oh sisters, what have we done
in asserting our womanly might?
we've castrated old Father Wrong
and deified good Mother Right

We looked for simple answers
avoiding struggle along with pain
not learning the lessons of his-tory
Sisters, we've lost again

False consciousness divides us
and women on power trips
fragmented lives and egos
the fabric of sisterhood rips

Opportunists lust for power
others grab token reform
confused, we avoid the conflict
Sisterhood dies being born

The rule of State is Force and Fraud
theft and murder bloody its hand
the revolution founders in crisis
Sisters, where do we stand?

We need a woman's revolution
but change must begin in our heads
to mend our ravaged selfhood –
with strong and vital new threads

All Power to the People
does not mean power to the few
let's cast out vanguards and dogma
and begin to struggle anew.

Arlene Meyers

(from No Governor, No.3, Spring '76)

Ulrike

With expertise
they tried their best
That you, Ulrike
would come to your death

You were, Ulrike,
an honest rebel.
And so one morning
lined up in your cell
they slipped you a noose
their only hope
thus finally their hangman
performed his task

Nothing to say
but a lot to be done
we will avenge our dead,
you too, Ulrike, you too.

(Based on a poem by Erich Muehsam
and dedicated to comrade Ulrike Meinhof
murdered at Stuttgart Stammheim.)

PICTURE BOOKS FOR LITTLE ANARCHISTS

When our daughter, Natasha, was born three years ago I had nightmares about the "classic" children's literature riddled with authoritarianism, religion and racialism which we were likely to receive from well-meaning relatives and acquaintances. However, I was pleasantly surprised to see that there were many good children's books available — and a lot of rubbish which booksellers stock on the momentum of years of high sales.

I am now inclined to be less hysterically concerned about the effects of bad literature on children. It seems to me that the good and bad experiences of living relationships have much more influence. I also suspect that the best literature in the world will have little effect on young children if it conflicts drastically with their crystal-clear perception of relationships and role-playing within their families and wider communities. Gunilla Wolde's books include some delightful attempts to show children that a variety of different roles and relationships exist: mothers/fathers at work, mothers/fathers at home, one parent families, etc. However, I've noticed that our daughter seeks confirmation of our own particular life-style, roles and relationships in books. The important point is that books should be available which allow all children to do just that. In the past the only available model was the "respectable" middle-class family doing all the "respectable" things, and protected by the forces of law and order.

I think that the main purpose of books for young children should be to amuse them, encourage their imaginations and generally to open their eyes to the exciting possibilities of books. I've seen very few consciously political picture books which do all or any of these things. The Maoist morality tales are dreary and crudely moralistic about the "need to defend collective property" or "study the words of Chairman Mao." One of the few books with a clear political/ethical message which I would enthusiastically recommend is Sharon Loree's *The Sunshine Family and the Pony*.

When Natasha bursts into life at some unearthly hour demanding that we read books I am a harsh literary critic. The picture books mentioned below have maintained both our interests even in such adverse conditions. All are easily available including, I hope, from your favourite anarchist bookseller.

The Sunshine Family and the Pony, Sharon Loree, Macmillan, 95p. A group of adults and children move into the country to live together. They hold a meeting to decide how

they will share the work. A neighbour gives them a pony and they tie it to a tree during the day and keep it in a barn at night. The pony isn't happy and runs away. Eventually they realise that ponies, as well as people, need to be free.

Different Peter and Emma, Gunilla Wolde, Hodder & Stoughton, 70p. Peter and Emma are the same age but they are different. They live in different sorts of houses, have different families and pets, and they have different tastes. But they are friends.

All of Gunilla Wolde's books attempt to break away from sex-stereotypes. Other titles in print include *Thomas Bakes a Cake*, *Thomas and Sarah Dress Up*, *Emma's Workshop* and *Emma Quite Contrary*.

The Doctor, Leila Berg, Macmillan Little Nippers, 9p. Leila Berg is a well-known advocate of children's rights and is responsible for the Little Nippers series of books for very young children. They are well-produced and incredible cheap. *The Doctor* is about a boy who finds that his fear of going to see the doctor is unfounded. I only hope that your doctor allows children to play with the stethoscope like the fictional ones always do!



The Friend, John Burningham, Jonathan Cape, 60p. This is one of a series of simple books for very young children which are directly related to their experiences and interests. All are pleasantly illustrated in an almost child-like style with a sense of humour. Other titles include *The Baby*, *The Rabbit*, *The Dog*, *The Snow* and *The Cupboard*.

Boy, Was I Mad! Kathryn Hitté & Mercer Mayer, Collins Picture Lions, 45p. Ted is feeling so angry that he decides to run away from home. But he meets so many friendly people and does so many interesting things that he forgets how cross he is.

Milton the Early Riser, Robert Kraus, Jose & Ariane Aruego, Picture Puffin, 50p.

Milton the bear wakes up early one morning and goes out to play. Everybody else in the world is still asleep and they stay asleep no matter what he does.

Playschool Humpty's Rhymes, BBC Publications 55p. This is a humorous collection of rhymes — and there isn't a queen, policeman or sadist in sight!

Meg and Mog, Helen Nicol and Jan Pienkowski, Picture Puffin, 50p. Meg the witch is one of the most popular fictional characters in our household. Aided and abetted by Mog the cat and Owl, her spells are guaranteed to go wrong with hilarious results. Other titles are *Meg at Sea*, *Meg's Eggs* and *Meg on the Moon*.

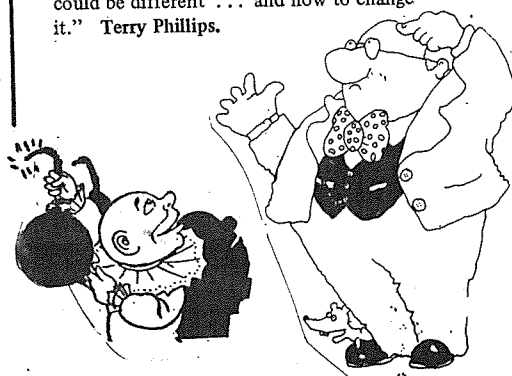
Where The Wild Things Are, Maurice Sendak, Picture Puffins, 75p. One night Max's bedroom gradually turns into a forest. He sails away across the sea and meets the ferocious Wild Things. As he tames them so he overcomes the childhood fear of shadows and darkness, and then he returns happily to his bedroom. *Father Christmas*, Raymond Briggs, Picture Puffins, 75p. Raymond Briggs' Father Christmas is a lovable, tetchy, boozy character who would really prefer to be sunning himself on a beach far away from it all rather than clambering over snowy rooftops!

Big Dog, Little Dog, P.D. Eastman, Collins Picture Lions, 30p. This book humorously records the differences between Fred and Ted. It is a pleasant introduction to concepts of size, colour, etc.

How A Baby Is Made, Per Holm Knudsen, Pan Piccolo Books, 50p. This book is probably of value to children over five, but every child's sexual curiosity develops at a different rate. It's the best, reasonably cheap, sex education book for young children I've seen. The cartoon illustrations are explicit and full of humour. It's an ideal book to have around for children to satisfy their curiosity.

Fanshen The Magic Bear, Becky Sarah and Dana Smith, New Seed Press, 50p. The king sits in his castle doing nothing and getting richer and richer. Laura and her pony, Marigold, collect rent for the king from all the people in the country. Laura doesn't like her job because she realises that the people have to work very hard and sometimes they don't have enough food, or warm clothes in winter. Laura sees how unfair things are. Then one day she meets Fanshen the magic bear who suggests a simple solution: why don't they stop paying rent! Laura persuades the people to tell the king that they don't intend to pay rent again. The king is angry but he knows that there is nothing he can do about it. The people divide up the land equally and give the king a piece too. Eventually even he is happy working on the land. Laura has a new job: taking care of the park. And as in all the best revolution, everyone lives happily ever after.

That is the story-line of a delightful book for children aged 6-10 from New Seed Press, a New York feminist group who, as they say, publish "children's books free from stereotyping, books that portray all kinds of people, living in all kinds of ways, and books that encourage thinking about how the world could be different . . . and how to change it." Terry Phillips.



BOOKS

Hitler's Children, Jillian Becker, Michael Joseph, £6.50.

Jillian Becker must by now be familiar to all those in Britain who followed T.V. and radio news reports of the Schleyer kidnapping. The publication of *Hitler's Children* (no, not secret revelations from Eva Braun's diary but a study of the "Baader-Meinhof gang") was so conveniently timed as to make her a handy 'authority' on West German terrorism in the eyes of the nation's news editors. And if appearing on every news bulletin helps sell a few more copies of her new book, as well as lending a hand in the crusade against the terror international, so much the better! For *Hitler's Children* is many things but one thing it isn't is objective.

Other studies of contemporary urban guerrilla groups have been published. Gordon Carr's *Angry Brigade* being perhaps the most sympathetic; and John Bryan's *This Soldier Still At War* giving a useful insight into the SLA. We should not expect writers who are not revolutionaries to do more than present the facts with an open mind. Carr's book was published after the Angry Brigade bombings, and so could afford to be honest. When the fighting is still in progress the state demands that every weapon be used against it. No one has yet attempted to publish an account sympathetic to the Provo IRA operations in England, and if they did would certainly not be allowed to air their views in news broadcasts after each fresh IRA action. A book presenting the truth about armed revolutionaries in West Germany is unthinkable. Even if published its author, printers and any book-seller in possession of a copy would immediately face prosecution: this was the case with Michael Baumann's *How It All Began*, even though that book was not even sympathetic to armed struggle.

The over-reaction of the German state is in some part simple paranoia, mixed with a genuine concern for the safety of its rulers' own skins (for each is thinking that after von Drenkman, Lorenz, Buback, Ponto and Schleyer, they might be next!) But it is not

so much those guerrillas fighting now which worries them so much as those which might follow the example of the RAF. With the appearance of the "2nd June Movement" and "Revolutionary Cells" just when the police were congratulating themselves on smashing the original RAF "hard core", and more recently the spectacular reappearance of a "new" RAF, West Germany's rulers are seeing their worst fears confirmed and are desperately cracking down even harder lest the rot spread. It is not small isolated bands of guerrillas which worries them, but the very real prospect of successor groups forming which are not isolated — the appearance of open class warfare.

Accordingly, the main thrust of West German 'national security' is aimed at containing and destroying the guerrilla before the scattered sparks of resistance break out into a conflagration. This applied equally, one might venture, to the Angry Brigade in Britain and the SLA in North America. What worried the police during the trial of the "Stoke Newington Eight" more than anything else was that an 'angrier' Angry Brigade would emerge; it explains too the savage massacre of six members of the SLA. It is the old formula of kill one and scare a hundred! This explains both the physical destruction in prison of captured guerrillas, and the anti-guerrilla campaign waged through the written word, which (and Becker's book is a classic example) concentrates on discrediting the guerrilla.

Becker convicts people in print of crimes that even the courts have not judged; she presents police statements (views as well as 'facts') as gospel without bothering to examine anything which conflicts with her own preconceived and fixed concepts. All those comrades shot down by the police suddenly become killed in "gun battles" . . . even though only the police were doing the shooting. So it was with Petra Schelm, shot dead by a trigger-happy cop whilst obeying the order to get out of her car. And George von Rauch and Tommy Weissbacker, two members of the Black Cross, each gunned down unarmed and with their hands in the air are here transformed by Becker into armed terrorists, "members of the RAF, who deliberately got themselves shot so as to provide the Black Cross with a couple of Martyrs!" Holgar Meins, one of the bravest of the RAF guerrillas, died whilst on hunger strike, even though that strike had been called off and he was under force feeding

by prison doctors; and Ulrike Meinhof did, according to Becker, hang herself. Medical evidence to suggest rape and murder by prison guards is simply discounted as fabrication! The list of deliberate factual distortions is as long as the book itself. For that is really all it is.

Not once does the author venture beyond the police version on anything. She denies the guerrillas all claim to an ideology; for her they are all simply criminals who choose to "express themselves" through violence. All the time the message is hammered home that the guerrilla has no motivation other than frustrated ambition. Meinhof turned, we are told, to bombs because her marriage failed and she sought emotional security amongst a group of crazies; Baader was a failure at everything except sex, a gangster who imitated Brando and cared more for fast cars than revolution; Ensslin only cared about Baader, and the rest joined the RAF out of guilt complexes for their wealthy backgrounds or because drugs, sex and hippy communes had twisted their brains! Any yet, whilst these made bombers have no ideas of their own and are simply 'criminals,' the state must find some political justification for singling them out for special treatment once in prison; so we are asked to believe that the books of Herbert Marcuse and Carlos Marighela are really to blame. What the defenders of the state cannot admit is that the guerrilla may have a point; for that would be to concede victory in what — however much it is publicly denied — is class war. And as in every war there can be no holds barred on either side.

Viewed against this background it is not surprising that the guerrilla campaign continues and grows more violent. The more serious the struggle, the more bitter the fighting, and the less room there is for those who sit on the fence. Becker has clearly chosen her side in the battle. Her book is one more weapon in the State's armoury. As a collection of lies, half-truths and distortion it excels. Rather than pay £6.50 or waste a library ticket, anyone curious to know Becker's views could more cheaply read them in the daily press reports — for they are no more than the drivel served up by crime reporters to show us that resistance doesn't pay.

Erwin Heimweh.

The Technology of Political Control, Carol Ackroyd, Karen Margolis, Jonathan Rosenhead and Tim Shallice, Penguin, 1977, 320pp £1.25.

In this book the authors have assembled useful descriptions of methods of surveillance, intimidation, disruption and destruction available to the governments of liberal and quasi-liberal democracies, principally Britain, in order to deal with those who actively dissent from the ruling political philosophy of class collaboration via parliamentary representation.

The authors use the term technology to cover everything from government manipulation of the legal process, through police and military strategy to drug torture and psychosurgery. Some of the practices described, such as mail opening and telephone tapping, or solitary confinement, are so well established as to make nonsense of the authors' claim that "The technology of political control is a new type of weaponry." The book is also marred by their standpoint of more or less orthodox Trotskyism, which makes the first eight chapters, some 60 pages, contentious to say the least.



Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin on trial in Frankfurt, 1968

Nevertheless, a vast amount of useful information has been gathered and the list of sources is over 16 pages long. The index is just about adequate. Simple but effective counter measures employable against several of the techniques are given and deserve the greatest possible publicity.

Mark Hendy.



Leopold Trepper — the "Direktor"

The Great Game, Leopold Trepper, Michael Joseph, £6.95p.

Of all the exploits of the anti-Nazi resistance, none have been so woven in legend or so little understood than those of the "Red Orchestra". A Soviet intelligence network set up under the direction of Leopold Trepper, operating throughout occupied Europe (and even within Germany itself), it set an astonishing record of success and personal heroism in a persistent and nerve wracking battle of wits with Nazi counter-intelligence, before finally betrayed by Moscow. Its story has since been the object of deliberate falsification in the West and the East, and has had to endure much sensational and ill-informed writing, resulting in, amongst others, the myth that it alone made possible the victory over Hitler.

Until now, only two books dealing with the "Red Orchestra" have emerged from this mass of pulp fiction and post-war propaganda that have been worthy of any serious consideration. The first, *The Red Orchestra*, by Giles Perrault had, as Trepper puts it, "the great merit" of enabling "specialists and the general public alike to know and understand the truth about the Red Orchestra in spite of the lies of the Nazis, the shadow of the cold war, and the omission of our adventure from the great chronicles of the resistance." Even with the subsequent publication of Heinz Hoehne's impressive *Codeword Direktor*, Perrault's book is still the most comprehensive and comprehending of the two. For the most authoritative account of the Red Orchestra we must turn to *The Great Game*, written by the man best qualified to know the truth — its "Direktor", Leopold Trepper is one of the great figures in spy history. A close friend of the legendary Richard Sorge, protege of Jan Berzin and a contemporary of our own Kim Philby, he became a communist because he was a Jew and entered into intelligence work as a logical progression of his revolutionary activism within the underground communist movements in Poland, Palestine and France. Trepper's intelligence activity was not a separate episode of his life but the climax of his work as a revolutionary communist and bitter opponent of fascism. It also enabled him to escape certain liquidation in

the Moscow of the 1930's where he had already begun to voice opposition to Stalin's purges. Seeing all the best comrades around him disappear one by one, he agreed to work under Jan Berzin, head of Red Army Intelligence (GRU), an old Bolshevik who himself fell victim to Stalin's internal terror policies. Explaining this decision, Trepper writes:

"Between the hammer of Hitler and the anvil of Stalin, the path was a narrow one for those of us who still believed in the revolution. Over and above our confusion and our anguish was the necessity of defending the Soviet Union, even though it had ceased to be the homeland of the socialism we had hoped for. This obvious fact forced my decision, and General Berzin's proposition allowed me to save my conscience. As a Polish citizen, as a Jew who had lived in Palestine, as an expatriate, as a journalist on a Jewish daily paper, I was ten times suspect in the eyes of the NKVD.

"My path was decided. It might end in a prison cell, a concentration camp, or against a wall. Yet by fighting far from Moscow, in the forefront of the anti-Nazi struggle, I could continue to be what I had always been: a militant revolutionary."

Undoubtedly, his departure to France to organise the Red Orchestra saved him from the purges that left not only Soviet Intelligence but the whole of the Red Army decimated and deprived of their most experienced men. Those few who escaped did so only because they could not be reached or, like Sorge, who was suspected of being a trotskyist, because they were still valuable for the defence of the Soviet Union.

Though heroic, the activities of the Red Orchestra naturally raise the question of how useful their contribution to the resistance was, and for that matter how much is the use of agents worth generally in the business of intelligence gathering. Heinz Hoehne pointed out that "... governments or General Staffs only take notice of and accept information provided by their own Secret Services when this tallies with their own preconceived ideas: when it cuts across some course of action already decided or some preconceived opinion on the part of authority, it is generally ignored." By way of illustration, Hoehne mentions the process as employed by the Germans: "The high-level picture of the enemy situation was built up from five sources: ground reconnaissance at the front, air reconnaissance, radio interception, study of enemy and neutral press and secret service reports. In order of reliability agent's reports came last. ... account was generally taken of agent's reports only in so far as they fitted in the overall appreciation of the situation." Trepper freely admits that much of the information he sent to Moscow was inaccurate or not used, and makes no wild claims for the effectiveness of his work. "No intelligence service determined the outcome of the conflict. ... The Red Orchestra was one of the essential elements of Soviet Intelligence, but it was not the only one ..." (Trepper).

Whilst not of decisive significance to the outcome of the war, the Red Orchestra did remain a constant thorn in the side of the Nazis and supplied rather more important intelligence to Moscow than is generally acknowledged. It was not that Trepper did not deliver the goods, but that the "Centre" did not choose to make use of what he supplied to them. Members of the Red Orchestra worked with the double disability of having to combat Nazi counter-intelligence and their own secret service. For, ultimately, intelligence is only as good as the use it is put to and Trepper's book is full of instances

where the intelligence was of the highest importance but was simply disregarded by the analysts on the personal orders of Stalin. This, as Trepper discovered after the war, whilst imprisoned in Moscow, was partly out of political considerations on the part of Stalin:

"... My activities in the Red Orchestra were not in question. ... what they could not forgive me for was having been chosen by General Berzin. The examining officer who had the guts to give up my case had spoken the truth: I had been suspect since 1938."

Inside Germany the Red Orchestra was represented by the Schulze-Boysen/Harnack group, described by Hoehne as "... a conglomeration of young communists, Marxists and left-wing pacifists; it drew its recruits from the working class and left wing intellectual bohemians; though it had sectarian undertones, it was determined to fight the Nazi dictatorship without compromise." Schulze-Boysen was a young anti-fascist aristocrat who feigned conversion to fascism, married into a family close to Goering and rose to a high post in the Luftwaffe, whilst passing information on to Moscow. He also organised at the same time physical resistance against the Nazis; in Trepper's view a mistake, as he maintained that the two functions (intelligence and resistance) should be strictly separated as a safety precaution, a precaution that Schulze-Boysen did not take, and events were to prove Trepper right.

What is revealing in the passages dealing with Germany is the picture which Trepper builds up of judges, policemen and military figures engaged in the counter-offensive against the German resisters. All had one thing in common — the belief that the state, even though founded on concentration camps, had a valid claim to the loyalty of its citizens. Resistance to the state, particularly in time of war and helped by the Soviet Union at that, was in their eyes the greatest of evils to be stamped out ruthlessly. "It is undeniable", Trepper writes, "that German resisters working on the inside played a very special role in the struggle against Nazism. Obviously, for a Frenchman, a Belgian, a Pole or a Czech, commitment to the struggle raised no problems of conscience ... but for a German, did it not amount to betraying his own country?" "The Schulze-Boysens did not hesitate over the answer. They had close experience with the monstrosity of Nazism ... I am aware that often this choice is held against them, and that in West Germany they are frequently regarded as traitors, while agents who worked for the English are celebrated as heroes. As if, because they collaborated with the USSR, these men and women had not contributed to the same victory."

What the 'patriotism' of those who labelled the German resistance as 'traitors' meant in practice can be seen by what one of Trepper's Gestapo jailers, Willy Berg, told him after he was arrested in 1942: "I was a policeman in the time of the Kaiser, I was a policeman under the Weimar Republic, and now I'm a cop under Hitler. Tomorrow, I could just as well serve Thaelmann's regime." It is the very same people who welcomed Hitler who today denounce the resistance of groups like the RAF from behind democratic masks.

Most of the bravest members of the Red Orchestra are now dead — executed, killed by the Gestapo under interrogation or snuffed out slowly in concentration camps; a few even preferred to commit suicide rather than betray their comrades. Theirs is a story of quiet and uncelebrated courage. For those few that survived their struggle has never ended. The "liberation" brought Trepper ten years in

Soviet prisons as his reward. Others have since died naturally or disappeared (Rado, head of the reserve network in Switzerland, surfaced only recently with the publication of his own account). One survivor was raided by the French police as late as 1963! Though only one, a Czech, has been proven to have continued her work for the GRU since the war.

It has been a much different story for the Red Orchestra's Nazi enemies. Many found work with the security forces of the German Federal Republic — like SS Untersturmfuehrer Johan Strieberg (Gestapo), once in charge of the Red Orchestra investigations and until 1963 a member of the West German secret service — and others, like Manfred Roeder (the Nazi judge who condemned the members of the Red Orchestra to death and was known as Hitler's bloodhound), live as comfortable members of the new German middle class. Roeder now lives a prosperous life as a lawyer and mayor of a small town; and is still keeping old habits alive as a leading figure in several neo-Nazi organisations as well as maintaining links with the National Front and British Movement here in Britain.

The western bourgeoisie who today hail "dissident" intellectuals like Solzhenitsyn as champions of freedom are silent over Trepper. And with good reason, for despite everything Leopold Trepper remains a convinced revolutionary:

"We wanted to change man, and we have failed. This century has brought forth two monsters, fascism and Stalinism, and our ideal has been engulfed in this apocalypse. The absolute idea that gave meaning to our lives has acquired a face whose features we no longer recognise. Our failure forbids us to give advice, but history has too much imagination to repeat itself, it remains possible to hope.

"I do not regret the commitment of my youth. I do not regret the paths I have taken. In Denmark, in the fall of 1973, a young man asked me in a public meeting, 'Haven't you sacrificed your life for nothing?' I replied, 'No'."

"No, on one condition: that people understand the lesson of my life as a communist and a revolutionary, and do not turn themselves over to a deified party. I know that youth will triumph where we have failed, that Socialism will succeed, and that it will not have the colour of the Russian tanks that crushed Prague."

Many others fought as bravely as Trepper but remain in anonymity. As Giles Perrault pointed out: "Like every other art, spying has its unknown men of talent; they are, needless to say, its greatest practitioners." Trepper is rare only in surviving to tell the tale. His life and work remain as a lesson and inspiration for all who come after.

D.T.



Obras de Teatro, Ricardo Flores Magon;
Discursos de Ricardo Flores Magon;
Articulos de Combate, Praxedis G. Guerrero,
Ediciones Antorcha, Mexico, 1977.

These three books are the latest to appear from "Ediciones Antorcha", a small anarchist publishing house in Mexico City directed by our comrade Omar Cortes. At the moment Antorcha is engaged in reprinting anarchist "classics", in particular the collected works of Ricardo Flores Magon, the most important and influential of all Mexican anarchists. Magon's works, first published between 1923 and 1925 in 10 small volumes under the title *Vida y Obra*, are now sadly unobtainable, so Antorcha's work in re-circulating them is of the greatest value.

Already Antorcha have brought out Vol. I and 2 of Magon's works, in 1975 and 1976 respectively. Vol. 1, *Epistolario Revolucionario e Intimo* (Vols. VIII, IX, and X of *Vida y Obra*) comprise letters written by Magon from Leavenworth prison, Kansas, between 1920 and his death in 1922, and Vol. 2, *Para que sirve la autoridad y otros cuentos* (Vols. IV and V of *Vida y Obra*) is a collection of beautiful little dialectical stories and dialogues written for the semi-literate and the young.

Before all else a word of congratulation must be given to the comrades of Antorcha for the quality and presentation of these three new books. They are beautifully produced in paperback form with the best cover design the writer has seen for a long time. All anarchist groups engaged in publishing and printing throughout the world should take special note to see how well fairly cheap propaganda can be produced.

Obras de Teatro is volume 3 of Magon's works (Vol. VI and VII of *Vida y Obra*) and contains the plays *Tierra y Libertad*, written in 1915, and *Verdugas y Victimas*, written in 1917 (and as far as the writer knows never staged). Both these little four act plays are in fact dramatic propaganda, and bring home to people, possibly more forcibly than read propaganda, the evils of society and the ways to overcome them. In passing it is of interest to note that Magon wrote two screenplays for films while he was in prison, his intention being to make these films on his release; but on his death in Leavenworth these were never handed over with his personal effects by the prison authorities.

Discursos de Ricardo Flores Magon is Vol. 4 (Vol. III of *Vida y Obra*), a collection of speeches given by Magon between 1910 and 1917. While most of them were made at meetings that dwelt directly with the Mexican Revolution, there are two that honour Francisco Ferrer and the Chicago Martyrs.

The third book, *Articulos de Combate*, is a collection of the writings of Praxedis G. Guerrero, Magon's comrade in arms and secretary of the Partido Liberal Mexicano, whose untimely death in December 1910 while leading a P.L.M. group at the very beginning of the Mexican Revolution at the early age of 28, robbed the P.L.M. of one of its best organisers. Guerrero's writings are taken from Magon's papers *Revolucion* and *Regeneracion* as well as his own *Puerto Rojo*, and deal with a wide range of subjects including women's emancipation, rationalist education and the condition of Mexican workers and the Chicanos in the United States. Also included are Guerrero's accounts of three episodes of the 1908 uprising, the attacks on Viesca, Palomas and Las Vacas. His epitaph for the latter could well be the epitaph for the Mexican Revolution of 1910 — 1920:

"A failure, murmur some voices.

Example, teaching, stimulation, immortal

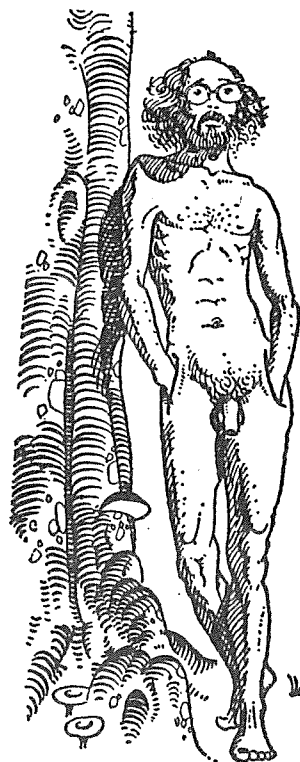
episode of a revolution that will triumph, says logic".

This selection (which should be read in conjunction with Pietro Ferrua's excellent study *Gli Anarchici Nella Rivoluzione Messicana: Praxedis G. Guerrero*, La Fiaccola, Ragusa) is the only edition now available of Guerrero's writings and is supplemented with some of Magon's letters to Guerrero and Guerrero's letters to Manuel Sarraha, as well as a very useful chronology.

With the revival of interest in Ricardo Flores Magon and the anarchist involvement in the Mexican Revolution, the timely appearance of these three books is one of the greatest value.

Dave Poole

(Cienfuegos Press intend to publish the complete works of R.F.M. in English at some future date.)



Socialism and the New Life: The Personal and Sexual Politics of Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis, Sheila Rowbotham and Jeffrey Weeks, Pluto Press, 198pp, p/b £1.80.

Edward Carpenter (1844-1928) was an influential writer on sexual matters. A wealthy homosexual, he first became a clergyman but abandoned the Christian belief and sought refuge from respectability in the socialist movement and a rural retreat. He did not abandon his wealth, and his socialism was of a moderate kind.

The fashioning of a new life style while retaining a position of privilege finds echoes today in the revolt against male domination and sexual orthodoxy within the middle class. It is less easy to see why anyone should want to read about Havelock Ellis (1859-1939). He was a pioneer advocate of freer sex and wrote prolifically but he never abandoned the authoritarian position that sex is basically for procreation. His politics were close to fabianism and he advocated eugenics, i.e. selective breeding. Despite his widespread

influence, the National Stud is, nevertheless, so far confined to racehorses; although, as the birthrate drops, there is once again talk of test-tube babies . . .

"Personal and sexual politics" are essentially preoccupations of the middle class, the professional petty bourgeois. This class is the principle upholder, within society, of property, country, and obedience to authority – the cornerstones of ruling class morality which the ruling class flouts at will but which serves to conceal exploitation and justify domination, confusing the workers as to their real interests. The middle class spends its life narrowly obsessed with professional ambition and rivalry but one of its basic social functions is to drum bourgeois ideals into the proletariat through the churches, schools, the law, the press and TV. Emotional starvation and sexual repression are major factors in securing the rigid structuring of middle class life. As bourgeois restraints upon sex ease slightly, "personal and sexual politics" surface to reformulate middle class mores.

For anarchists, the approach to personal and sexual behaviour is rather different. Anarchism takes its ideals from the daily life of the working class. The working class is exploited and must struggle for its emancipation, indeed to survive. In the course of their daily struggles the workers come into conflict with exploitation and domination in every form, including the bourgeois moralising of the middle class. The working class evolves instead its own morality of equality, solidarity, freedom. Anarchist ideas on personal relationships, like anarchist ideas on anything else, simply strive to clarify or develop or perpetuate the best ideas produced by the working class; they boil down, in the end, to "live and let live."

Human beings, to be sure, have undeniable needs. Without a certain level of satisfaction of those needs the human organism cannot function in everyday life. But the central fact of everyday life for the working class is exploitation and this denies the workers any right to the satisfaction of their needs. This is why the class struggle comes about, and it will continue until the workers put an end to their exploitation by taking over the means of production and establishing a classless society. People who really want that will live as equals in their common fight to achieve it.

Mark Hendy.

A New World For Women : Stella Browne – Socialist Feminist, Sheila Rowbotham, Pluto Press 1977, paperback £1.50, hardback £3.60. 128pp.

Stella Browne was a tireless fighter against sexual oppression, who stood out from many of her contemporaries by her refusal to accept "ameliorative welfare, the neutrality of the state" or the demand for a separate women's sphere in politics, although she understood the emphasis on women's biological situation that was predominant within the feminist movement during the early 1920s.

Most of the "new" feminists of that time looked only at particular aspects of sexual oppression and so tended to think almost solely in terms of partial, state-directed reforms, which could be absorbed by the status quo, without directly challenging the root causes. There also existed, however, a more radical, direct action "wing" to the feminist movement, represented by people such as Rose Witcop, and Stella Browne's friend, Margaret Sanger.

It was to this group that Stella Browne was allied.

Margaret Sanger, an American and friend of Big Bill Haywood, was a strong influence on Stella from the time of their first meeting in 1914. Although she later moved to the right in an attempt to gain wider political support for birth control, Margaret Sanger came from a controversial and radical background. Her pamphlet *Family Limitation* was distributed in the USA by members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and an earlier tract *The Woman Rebel* was seized by the authorities on obscenity grounds. In England *Family Limitation* was published by her anarchist friend Rose Witcop (and her companion, Guy Aldred).

For this, both Rose and Guy were prosecuted on an obscenity charge during 1922 and 1923, and Stella Browne was one of the people who became active in their defence, although this represented only a single aspect of her campaign. She was continually travelling the country, addressing women's meetings on practical methods of birth control, abortion and the right of all women to control their own lives and bodies.

Although Stella Browne was a member of the Communist Party for two years, she belongs to that branch of socialism (as does Sheila Rowbotham herself) which is uncompromising and libertarian in perspective, and it is perhaps fitting that she should have a biographer who echoes so much of what Stella herself stood and worked for all her life.

As an added bonus two articles by Stella have been included as Appendixes to the biographical account. They are: "The sexual variety and variability among women" and "The right to abortion."

I do have two grumbles with this book, however, and the first is perhaps only technical. I would have preferred to have the references either as footnotes, or gathered together at the end of the book, as it is, they're situated about two-thirds of the way through, which I found a little awkward. Secondly, while Sheila Rowbotham places Stella very accurately within the political and social context of her time, there was very little by way of personal detail, and while I enjoyed the book, I was left feeling that I still did not know Stella Browne as a woman, only as a politician.

That said, the book still provides a useful brick in the reconstruction of the history of socialism in this country during this century, and as such it can give us a much more clearly defined sense of self, and so is to be welcomed.

M.E.

Communist Politics in Britain: The CPGB from its Origins to the Second World War, Hugo Dewar, Pluto Press, 1976, £1.80.

The author of this analysis of the 20 year political evolution of the major UK revolutionary party was himself expelled from it as a Trotskyist in 1932. That he is well qualified for the task undertaken is proved by this valuable and readable book based on study of what must have been a quite daunting mass of CP Press verbiage. It is not a history which he points out may be found elsewhere. His theme is the political reaction conditioned through the Comintern by the Bolsheviks, demonstrating the side-stepping, somersaulting, back-stepping of the King Street puppets as their strings were manipulated from afar.

That influence was natural enough in the beginning. Whilst a CP was being born in England Willy Gallacher was a Clyde shop

stewards delegate to the 1920 2nd Comintern Congress. Lenin sought him out and successfully persuaded him to drop his anti-parliamentary ideas and intention to form a Scottish Communist Party in favour of joining up with the English. That was particularly unfortunate for it resulted in the break-up of the strong partnership and friendship of Gallacher and John MacLean and disunity of the revolutionary elements in Scotland.

It was also understandable that during the formative years of the USSR foreign parties be exploited to aid the young republic and to combat the machinations of the capitalist countries. But Stalin was to go further. His own internal machinations became his obsession with everyone exploitable being suborned. Thus the outside parties had to twist as he did and for his benefit, not theirs. Most disastrous was his refusal to allow the German party to join the Social Democrats in fighting the rising Nazis – until too late – and to fight them instead, thus aiding, not hindering Hitler.

Most notorious of the CPGB's twists was in 1939. Stalin made his incredible pact with Hitler in August because Chamberlain had dilly-dallied too long over his proposed pact. Britain declared war when Hitler invaded Poland in September and the CPGB pledged complete support, issuing Harry Pollitt's pamphlet "How to Win the War" nationwide. But Stalin then marched into Poland and that country was sliced in two. Both called for peace and then labelled the Allies the warmongers when that was refused. The CPGB still called for all-out war against Hitler and their CC was in session in King Street drafting a manifesto to that effect when they were interrupted. Their National Organiser Springhall, thought then to be in Moscow, marched in unexpectedly.

"Springie" read the draft manifesto, ripped it up and slung the bits into the waste-paper basket. "This is an Imperialist war. The Party must fight against it, not for it!" was his message. The manifesto was re-written to that effect, the pamphlet withdrawn from the branches and author Pollitt sacked, for the moment, from his job as secretary. Of course when Hitler later attacked the USSR and the Allies and Reds shook hands the CPGB had to turn again and declare the war a worthwhile one after all!

Brevity and purpose preclude much mention of personalities by Hugo Dewar, even Springhall isn't identified in the tale above although his death is cited later in showing the CPGB's utter disregard of personal loyalty as being vapid bourgeois sentiment for the *Daily Worker's* obituary amounted to only a couple of lines. "Springie's" devotion to the Party had been lifelong and included four years in gaol (reduced from seven) for obtaining secrets for the USSR during the Hitler war as well as being wounded in the Spanish war. He was active in China when he died a decade ago and certainly had earned a long obituary in the *DW*.

An amusing sidelight on the mentality of the CPGB was thrown on them when Pollitt organised all-out canvassing for the Liberal at the 1938 by-election because the Labour candidate was erstwhile member Reg Groves who had been expelled as one of the first Trotskyites six years earlier.

There is certainly much ammunition in this book for anarchists or any others seeking to know their enemy.

Barry Duncan.

Peoples of the Sea, Immanuel Velikovsky (*Ages in Chaos*, Vol. iv), Sidgwick & Jackson 1977, £5.95.

A new Velikovsky is a rare event. His first book *Worlds in Collision* (1950) where he established the world catastrophe that occurred, he claims, in historical times, was followed by a revision of history *Ages in Chaos* (1952). He then turned to support his cataclysmic theory – *Earth in Upheaval* (1955) – and in 1960 published *Oedipus and Akhnaton*, an identification arising from his redating of ancient history.

He has now expanded *Ages in Chaos* into four volumes. Vol. II has not yet been published, and Vol. III is about to be published. This is to correct the story of ancient history and his facts seem unchallengeable, always with the proviso – at least to a layman. It is surprising how tenuous is the thread by which the whole science of Egyptology hangs. Yet the entire history of the ancient world is related to it. Revising the dates affords at the very least a fascinating jigsaw puzzle. It also awakens an intense interest in the ancients.

There is no particular hope of any sort to be gained from Velikovsky; most scientists agree there could be cosmic collisions in the future, he maintains they were the historical past. But if his theory is correct, and his revised chronology is correct too, it affords some ecological hope to those depressed by the effects of the State and capitalism. Even the greatest disasters have been suffered in the past, and yet there have been survivors. The human race may yet survive atomic explosion and relentless erosion, and a flowering of civilisation could even come after it. Only we won't be there to see it.



The Cuban Revolution : A Critical Perspective, Black Rose Books, Montreal, 1976, £4.00.

The people are eating better, have free health care, subsidised or free housing, mass transit fares are only token – claims like these unite the apologists of state capitalist tyranny from China westwards to Russia, ports in between, then southward to China. Written with well fed righteous indignation, these decent “liberal” people breath condescension to all that question the lack of freedom in the so-called Communist States – “Freedom is a bourgeois luxury!” they sneer, echoing Lenin, wallowing in their calorie counted guilt complexes. They they go on to tell us about the increase in the tons of pig iron produced or sugar cane cut under the ever glorious current Five Year Plan, blithely ignoring the prison camps, the repression of all civil rights (in the name of the Revolution!), revelling in the mindless

uniformity of appearance, ideas and mass demonstrations. They like to tell us that the uniformity is proof of the on-going democratic impulses of the Revolution, rather than the forced results of Statist repression . . .

Of course these are the very same people that raise their dainty hands in horror at fixed union elections, pornography statutes and the displacement of left wing mini-parties from election ballots. Filled with guilt about having three square meals a day they cast their sneering pearls before us swine, in the self-fulfilling prophetic hope that we will continue to be the same boors we always have been. You know the type: they get a free trip behind the iron/bamboo/sugar cane curtain and tell us of the wonders of the regimented life in the workers’ fatherlands. “Free” for them; the regimented working stiff foots the bill without being asked, courtesy of “his” State.

Serve the People! (who are, after all, too dumb to serve themselves); Cheap Bus Fares on the road to Socialism, don’t need a car, cause the trains now run on time, thanks to the Wisdom of the Selfless Conductor; the only songs to be sung are *lider*.

Fidel Castro as a variation of the “traditional” Latin American *lider maximo*, a *caudillo* sprinkled with Stalinist rhetoric – this is one of the most interesting aspects in Sam Dolgoff’s latest book, *The Cuban Revolution: A Critical Perspective*. Dolgoff gives example after example of Latin American dictators – all of whom were looked down upon by our fine feathered fellow travellers – who ensured their mass support through the implementation of social reform policies. The only difference between them and Castro is the rhetoric department. The traditional *caudillo* was propped up by Yankee Imperialism; Fidel, by the Soviets.

Going back to the 1924 Ibanez dictatorship in Chile, we see that social welfare policies were pursued; the *Junta* that grabbed power in Peru in 1968 instituted social reforms as well (and he quotes Castro as saying that the Peruvian agrarian reform was much more “radical” than what was done in Cuba after the Revolution).

The best example of a right wing *caudillo* following social welfare policies – is that of Juan Peron in Argentina. Although the original basis of Peron’s power was the military, his real base of support lay in his own (and Evita’s) popularity with the *descamisados* – the “shirtless ones.” That and control of the labour movement.

In this regard, Dolgoff documents the actual links between Peron and Castro – the latter’s proclamation of days of mourning on the occasion of Peron’s death; that Super-Revolutionary Che Guevara was in informal contact with leading Peronists. The idea of Castro as *caudillo* is more than just a matter of interpretation; it was an affinity recognised by Castro himself.

Castro’s accession to power, too, is not so far from the palace coup tradition as we have been led to believe. There is no doubt that his 26 July Movement fought hard and bravely against Batista – but the 26th July Movement was not the only anti-Batista force operating in Cuba – there were groups all over the country, all of whom wore down the Batista regime to the point of collapse – groups both in the country and the city (the role of urban anti-Batista forces has been consistently downplayed – they did not support Castro). Among the many fascinating documents included in this book (many for

the first time in English) is a series of articles (“Revolution and Counter-Revolution”) written by the veteran Cuban anarchist, Abelardo Iglesias. One of those articles, “History of a Fraud: the ‘March on Havana,’” describes exactly how Castro came to actual power. We can do no better than quote Iglesias:

“The romantic aura surrounding Castro’s legendary exploits must be dispelled. The myth of his alleged “March on Havana” captured the imagination of his deluded sympathisers, must once and for all be debunked. We who lived in Cuba, who witnessed, and to a certain extent participated in the events, have too much respect for the truth to remain silent in the face of such serious misconceptions.

The facts are the following: Weeks before Batista fled Cuba, when the rebel forces advanced in Las Villas Province without meeting serious resistance from government troops, Fidel Castro, almost immobilised in Oriente province, contacted Colonel Rizo Rubido, military commander of the fortress at Santiago de Cuba, and began negotiations with this officer of the Batista army for the surrender of the city, the capital of Oriente Province . . . With the help of a Catholic priest . . . Fidel Castro and General Cantillo reached full agreement and General Cantillo surrendered Santiago de Cuba and the whole province . . . to Castro. These events were related to Castro himself on television and reported in 1959 in the magazine “Bohemia”, which reproduced actual photographs of the notes exchanged between Fidel Castro and General Cantillo.

Fulgencio Batista then summoned General Cantillo to Havana and told him of his decision to abdicate and appoint him (General Cantillo) as Commander in Chief of the army to maintain order and return the country to normalcy. General Cantillo accepted Batista’s offer and immediately contacted Fidel Castro, informing him that he was ready to not only surrender Oriente Province, but the whole country. A few hours later, Batista . . . left Havana for Santo-Domingo . . . This happened at dawn, January 1st, 1959.

With the flight of Batista, all the armed forces surrendered without firing a single shot. General Cantillo transferred command of his army to Colonel Ramon Barquin who had just been released, after being sentenced to imprisonment for conspiring against the Batista government.

Upon assuming command . . . Colonel Barquin told Fidel Castro that the army and he personally was at his disposal and under his orders and that he (Barquin) would remain only as long as Castro wants me or until he was replaced.

Fidel Castro immediately ordered his rebel troops to occupy all installations, barracks and fortresses. In line with these orders, Camillo Cienfuegos with a force of only 300 men, occupied Camp Military City after 12,000 Batista troops, including aviation, artillery and tank units, surrendered without firing a shot . . . (Dolgoff, p.91f.) Power then was handed to Castro.

Castro – in common with traditional Latin American *caudillos* – has made great strides in the area of social welfare policies – this cannot be denied. And through the Communist Party, he controls the labour movement. The biggest deviation of Castro from the traditional *caudillo* pattern is his relations with the Communists. The traditional *lideres maximos* took power claiming that their coups were the country’s only alternative to communism; and repression of communists

followed. But this does not take into account the history of the Cuban Communist Party (CPC) – a history of collaboration with brutal right-wing dictators. Founded by 10 people in 1925 during the Machado dictatorship, the CPC (then known as the PSP– People's Socialist Party) began its career of treachery to the working class as Machado's regime collapsed. It was during the reign of Machado that the Cuban Anarcho-Syndicalist movement was dealt near death blows – it took Fidel to finish them off. In August 1933 a general strike started the downfall of Machado – spearheaded by the Anarcho-Syndicalist-influenced trolley workers union and the Communist-controlled bus workers union. In a desperate last-minute attempt to preserve power, Machado negotiated with the Communists – if they would call off the general strike, he would recognise the Party and place its bureaucrats at the head of some of the labour unions. This agreement was made between the regime and the Central Committee of the Communist-controlled CNOC (National Confederation of Cuban Workers). The rest of the story is told in the "Manifesto to the Cuban Workers and People in General" written by the Federation of Anarchist Groups:

The communists made frantic appeals to the workers to go back to work because the employers granted their demands. But the workers (including even the Havana bus and transportation union, controlled by the communists) refused. They decided to obey only their own conscience and to continue resistance until the Machado regime is overthrown or forced to flee.

Machado and his communist allies retaliated. No labour union was allowed to meet. The Havana Federation of Labour (FOH, founded by the anarcho-syndicalists), to which the largest number of non-political labour unions were affiliated could not meet because it did not have a signed authorisation from the government. Only the communists, thanks to their betrayal, were allowed to meet. Armed with revolvers while all others were forbidden to hold or carry arms and constitutional rights were suspended, the communists held meetings, rode in automobiles burning gasoline supplied by the army because the filling stations were closed by the strike . . .

. . . in conclusion we want the workers and the people of Cuba to know that the rent for the offices of the communist party labour front the CNOC is paid by the Machado regime, that the furniture was forcibly taken away from the Havana Federation of Labour offices with the permission and active help of Machado's Secretary of War . . . (Dolgoft p.48f)

To gain a power foothold, the Communists were ready to betray the popular rising. Twenty-one days after Machado fell, the Batista dictatorship began. Under Batista, only one "union" – "Labour Front" is the better word – was recognised: the CTC (Cuban Confederation of Labour). In 1940, the PSP, then led by Francisco Calderio (alias Blas Roca) agreed to and did support Batista's candidates in the elections. The pay-off – and I am not using the word sarcastically – was to turn over the leadership and control of the State-sanctioned CTC to the Communists. Installed by the gangster regime as its head was the Communist Lazaro Pena. And as if that act of betrayal were not enough, Communists were given positions in the presidential cabinet – partners in crime! Sam Dolgoft notes:

"... In exchange for these favours the

communists guaranteed Batista labour peace. In line with the Communist Party's "Popular Front against Fascism" policy, the alliance of the Communist Party with the Batista was officially consummated when the Party joined the . . . government. The Communist Party leaders Carlos Rafael Rodriguez and Juan Marinello (who now hold high posts in the Castro government) became Ministers Without Portfolio in Batista's Cabinet". To illustrate the intimate connections between the communists and Batista, we quote from a letter to Batista to Blas Roca, Secretary of the Communist Party:

June 13, 1944

Dear Blas,

With respect to your letter which our mutual friend, Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez Minister Without Portfolio, passed to me, I am happy to again express my firm unshakable confidence in the loyal cooperation the People's Socialist Party . . . its leaders and members have given and continue to give myself and my government . . . Believe me, as always, Your very affectionate and cordial friend,

Fulgencio Batista. (Dolgoft, p.53). The Communists collaborated with Batista in writing Cuba's 1940 Constitution – a "democratic" constitution that coexisted with Batista's dictatorship in the same way that Stalin's "democratic" constitution coexisted with Stalinism. Blas Roca wrote:

Together, Batista and ourselves, with the energetic mobilisation of the popular masses, achieved the convocation of the free and sovereign Constituent Assembly, the normalisation of the University, the amnesty for political prisoners; measures that created a climate of guarantees and liberty in the country, that brought the legalisation of activity, together with our Party, to all parties and revolutionary sectors, thus initiating the process of normal and peaceful development of all civic activities.

Thanks to our collaboration with President Batista, we can affirm today without arrogance that the people of Cuba have the magnificent Constitution of 1940.¹

Batista lost to Grau Martin in the early 40s. In 1947, Grau turned against the Communists; a drive to purge communists from the CTC was instituted. But the communists were not just mere victims of government-organised red-baiting; a reflection of their loss in popularity was shown in their dismal performance in national elections. When Batista regained power in 1952, the party zigged and zagged – at the same time! – a difficult feat, even for those most adroit of zig-zaggers. Officially the Party opposed Batista – at the same time leading Communists served in the government.²

When Fidel Castro entered the stage with his ill-fated attack on the Moncada Barracks in 1953, his act was roundly condemned by the Communists:

"We repudiate the putschist methods, peculiar to bourgeois political factions, of the action . . . which was an adventuristic attempt to take both military headquarters. The heroism displayed by the participants . . . is false and sterile, as it is guided by mistaken bourgeois conceptions. But even more we repudiate the repression dictated by the government. . ."

The entire country knows who organised, inspired and directed the action . . . and knows that the Communists had nothing to do with it. The line of the PSP and the mass movement has been to combat the Batista tyranny and to unmask the putschists and

adventuristic activities of the bourgeois opposition as being against the interests of the people . . .³ It was not until after Batista's generals handed power to Castro that the Communists started to openly support Castro – an extremely embarrassing position for a "revolutionary" collaborator with a right-wing dictator. It was the influence of Soviet bloc aid and Fidel Castro's opportunism that led to the Castro-Communist fusion – prior to that time, he had talked in terms of "neither capitalism nor communism."

On Dec. 2, 1961, Castro delivered his famous "I am a Marxist-Leninist and will remain one until the last days of my life" speech. H. Zeitlin and Scheer, in their *Cuba: Tragedy in our Hemisphere*, maintain that he never made the statement.⁴ Whether he made the statement or not, I don't know; that he did is supported by what Herbert Mathews wrote about conversations in Cuba after the speech:

"... On my next trip to Cuba I complained to him and everybody I met, not that the embrace of Marxism-Leninism was now open, but that his . . . speech was so badly constructed and confusing that his enemies could pick sentences out of it . . . to give the impression that Fidel was confessing he had been a Communist since his college days. He agreed with me that, of course, he had not meant to imply this. . . My Cuban friends commiserated with me over the way Fidel had made his startling announcement, but the damage was minor and it could not be undone".⁵

In the final analysis, of course, whether he made that particular statement is of little importance: there can be no doubt today that he aligns himself wholly with the Communists – not to mention that he is the First Secretary of the C.P.'s Central Committee. . .

Let us return to the theme of the Communist betrayal of the working class and collaboration with the dictatorship. The C.P.C. control of the C.T.C. (Castro, incidentally, turned leadership of the C.T.C. over to one who had experience under Batista: the Communist Lazaro Pena) is similar to the activities of Portuguese Communists – setting up one state sanctioned union under Communist control. In Spain, there are tendencies within the same direction: witness the Communist participation in the closest thing Spain had to a state-sanctioned "union" – the so-called "Workers' Commissions." And the recent announcements by Santiago Carrillo that the Communists are willing to recognise the monarchy! Franco's boy, Juan Carlos, embracing the old Stalinist hack – or rather vice versa. Memories of Uncle Joe and Adolf! Communist betrayal is nothing new (only a *caudillo* welcoming it is) – remember the K.P.D. collaboration with the Nazis? May 1974 – a million railroad workers in India go on strike – the Communist Party of India (C.P.I.) opposing it. More than 60,000 workers were imprisoned. When Indira Gandhi declared her State of Emergency in June 1975, only two political parties supported her: the Congress Party (her own) and – you guessed it – the C.P.I.

Let us return to our professional "liberal" apologists who see free medical care, free/subsidised housing, cheap bus fares and free education (but not education to think, to develop, to create, to be free; education to do what the State requires) as the be-all and end-all of social existence. The Cuban economy (as with the other so-called "communist" states) is in reality State Capitalism: wage slavery, managerial hierarchy, extraction of profits from the workers' labour power, leaders

and led, masters and slaves, "alienated" labour. As in the other so-called Communist countries, workers' self-management of the means of production does not exist; everything in the hands of the State, for the State, by the State. How does it pay the State to provide so many "free" services? Since the communists have destroyed every attempt by the people to develop social institutions, practices, etc., under their own control and at their own initiative, it cannot be that the State is simply being solicitous of its subjects' (victims') well-being. Then why? One, it goes towards assuring popular support for the regime; two, by providing all of these "free" services, wage costs are cut – hence more profit – to be ploughed back into the economy to be used for the financing of coercion, and enable the Party leaders to live in the style to which they have become accustomed. "Free" social services as a factor in reducing production costs (wages) was analysed particularly well in a document written in 1964 by the two Polish communist dissidents – who both received jail terms for their efforts – "An Open Letter to the Party" by Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski. In regard to free medical aid, they noted:

"The workers receive medical care free and can buy medicines at a discount, but these are necessary in order to preserve his labour power; they are the ingredients of his subsistence minimum. If free medical care were abolished and rents increased, the workers' wages would have to be raised in proportion to the increase in his necessary expenses. These non-returnable benefits and services are a necessary part of the workers' subsistence minimum, a wage supplement as necessary to the workers as wages themselves, and therefore a constituent of production costs".⁶

Healthier wage slaves make for healthier production norms; in a developing economy such as Cuba's, the need for more educated wage slaves is necessary – hence the educational reforms. Social reform policies – no matter how beneficial and/or well-meaning – are not signs of Revolution. They can be and have been granted just as easily under reactionaries – witness Bismarck's social security programmes. They serve to increase profits, insure mass support, and thus perpetuate the system (whatever that system may be). In other words – give it to them, before they start taking it for themselves.

Theoretically, the end product of Castroism-Communism is supposed to be the "New Socialist Man" – people motivated by higher ethical/moral imperatives. The social welfare reforms are supposed to be supplying the pre-conditions for true freedom. Freedom, however, cannot be given. *IT MUST BE TAKEN*. Dolgoff notes:

"But all attempts to institute socialism by decree, as Bakunin foresaw over a century ago, leads inevitably to the enslavement of the people by the authoritarian State. They (sic) attempt to build communism failed because the "new socialist man" can be formed only within the context of a new and free society, based not upon compulsion, but upon voluntary co-operation. The attempt failed because it was not implemented by thoroughgoing libertarian changes in the authoritarian structure of Cuban society. Communisation and forming the "new socialist man" actually camouflaged the militarisation of Cuba. . ."

(Dolgoff, p. 154)

Authoritarian means result in authoritarian ends: and the "new socialist man" has become the voluntary slave. That "thoroughgoing libertarian changes" were not implemented was

not due to the lack of trying, as this book demonstrates. The Cuban anarcho-syndicalists fought the good fight. They tried to show and tried to implement these changes. The answer by the Moulders of "New Socialist Man" was – Repression. The results we see today: the Cuban economy in a shambles, life and labour militarised, children militarised.

This book must be read. I have only touched upon one small aspect of the book – there is so much more. It represents the first full-length, comprehensive view of the Cuban Revolution from a revolutionary perspective. It is an important book.

Shelby Shapiro

Footnotes:

1. Maurice Zetlin & Robert Scheer, *Cuba: Tragedy in our Hemisphere* (N.Y., Grove Press, Inc., 1963), p. 114.
2. *Ibid.*, 115ff.
3. *Ibid.*, 117 f.
4. *Ibid.*, 217 f.
5. Herbert L. Mathews, *A World in Revolution* (N.Y., Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1971), p. 319f.
6. Jacek Kuron & Karol Modzelewski, *An Open Letter to the Party* (London, International Socialism, n.d.), p. 13.



Persona Non Grata : An Envoy in Castro's Cuba
Bodley Head, London, 1976 translated from the Spanish by Colin Harding, £6.95.

From the jacket blurb we gather that "... Jorge Edwards, a Chilean writer, poet and career diplomat was appointed his country's first envoy to Cuba by the late President Allende when diplomatic relations were re-established in 1970. . . ." Edwards' critique takes on added significance because he was an enthusiastic Pro-Castro spokesman on the cultural front, for whom (as he writes) "... fundamental solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, as Latin-Americans came before everything else. . . ." It should be emphasised that despite his indictment of Cuban totalitarianism he remains a pro-Castroite, who is unable to transcend his subconscious loyalty.

Edwards' description of the disastrous economic situation for which Castro and cohorts are directly responsible, which among other ill effects, resulted in rationing of formerly plentiful supplies of sugar, coffee, tobacco, milk; forced labour, the militarisation of Cuban life etc., are documented in much greater detail in the works of Rene Dumont, K.S. Karol, Maurice Halperin and others and also in my *The Cuban Revolution : A Critical Perspective*.

By far, the greater portion of his book deals with the all pervasive network of spies and (as Edwards puts it) "... censorship and freedom of expression . . . the harrowing conflict

between the interests of the State . . . and the demands of independent thought and creation."

Edwards incurred the hostility of the dictatorship when he "... found himself in disagreement with Castro's repression of the Cuban intellectuals and was accused of hostility towards the Revolution because of his long-standing friendship with dissident writers . . ." and poets like Heriberto Padilla and others, which aroused world-wide protest even from pro-Castroite intellectuals like Jean Paul Sartre, Simone de Bouvoir and others. Castro, the "Stalin of the Carribean" was particularly incensed by Padilla's poem *Out Of The Game*, for which he was awarded the Casa de las Americas literary prize, we quote extracts:

The poet, get rid of him
He has nothing to do around here
He does not play the game
lacks enthusiasm

... does not even notice the miracles
He spends the whole day thinking
always finds something to object to
That fellow, get rid of him . . .
... No one can make him smile
each time the spectacle begins

Padilla's poem *Instructions for Admission into a New Society* is even more explicit:

In the first place: optimism
Secondly: be correct, circumspect, submissive.
(Having undergone all the sports tests)
and to finish, march
as do all other members:
one step forward,
two or three backwards:
but always applauding.

In the chapter, significantly titled: *The Poets and the State* Edwards tells how he was summoned to the Foreign Office where Castro told him to his face that "... we have followed in every detail every meeting you have had, every step you have taken, and every conversation you have ever held . . . you have allowed yourself to be surrounded by . . . enemies of the Revolution set upon giving you a negative picture of the situation in Cuba . . . we have already sent our opinion of you to Salvador Allende. . ."

As a diplomat Edwards mingled with the heads of the Cuban government, including Castro himself. His routine diplomatic and social obligations brought him into close contact with almost all levels of government and enabled him to observe, at first hand, the intricate operations of the bureaucratic apparatus. Edwards' vivid account of the inner workings of the Cuban Police State lends reality to Orwell's, by no means "fantastic" description of life in a totalitarian society.

Sam Dolgoff.



Traven's Jungle Novels: *Government* (£2.50); *The Carreta* (£2.00); *The Troza* (unpublished); *Rebellion of the Hanged* (30p); *General from the Jungle* (£2.00); *March to Caobaland* (30p)

Sometimes in the course of trying to lead a self-consciously political life with all its attendant reading and discussion, a person can start to feel bogged down. Political writings and the reading of them can, at times, have the debilitating effect of using more energy than the effort generates. After any extended submersion, one is left gasping for air.

Recently, feeling the need to take a brief vacation from the stacks of non-fiction anarchist books and pamphlets that await my attention, I began reading a series of inter-related novels by B. Traven that are known as the Jungle Novels. It was pure oxygen for my fires.

The Jungle Novels (*Government, The Carreta, March to Monteria, The Troza* [unpublished] *The Rebellion of the Hanged*, and *The General from the Jungle*) graphically portray the pre-revolutionary period of Mexico by following the lives of the "common" people, especially the native people who occupy the lowest place in Mexican society. During this time, fully half of the entire rural population of Mexico was bound to debt and slavery. The alliance of government, capitalists, police, and the church conspired to keep things that way.

The rural worker could not escape the clutches of this alliance for one simple reason. The employer was the source not only of the workers' meagre wages, but also of the necessities of life at prices cruelly in excess of the former. For example, Andres, an ox-cart driver in the novel *The Carreta*, finds himself sold in a card game to a new owner for 25 pesos. Says Traven, describing the economics of the deal, "By the time Andres had worked out that debt of twenty-five pesos, he had run up a debt on his own account with don Laureano of forty-two pesos for goods he had bought from him and sixteen pesos in cash he had needed for other things. Now that he had served his employer well and truly and with proper Christian humility and submission for over three years, his debt with don Laureano amounted to ninety-four pesos. A mathematician could have told him in two minutes, not as a guess but with precision, that if he continued serving him so well for forty years he would by that time have a debt of nine hundred and twenty-four pesos, thirty centavos."

While the proletarian characters in the first several novels feel the full force of these arrangements, they are powerless in the face of them, remaining largely unconscious and necessarily submissive.

But each new novel brings further degradation of the workers' conditions, a strengthening of their resolve and a growing disposition to strike at the immediate root of their problem, the owners. Finally, in the brutality of the remote mahogany lumber camps, where they have been sold to work off their debts, it becomes imperative for these workers to rebel. Faced with inhuman demands for productivity and fiendish punishment for failing, the mahogany cutters destroy their tormentors and go on to form the beginning of a guerrilla army. In the final novel *General From The Jungle*, the oppressive state-church-capitalist alliance reaps what it has sown as the guerrilla army comes out of the Jungle conscious of their role and unable and unwilling to allow their own and their class brothers and sisters lives to continue under the old conditions.

One of the most striking aspects of these novels in Traven's ability to write a good story by itself and also punctuate it with wry political observations which stand on their own. The relationship of the two is not at all uncomfortable; simple human terms stimulate the reader to a more profound understanding of the destructive effects that an exploitative, authoritarian society has on its people.

This relationship between story and political comment is important to the continuity of the novels. I was initially disconcerted by the contrast between the passivity

of the exploited and Traven's stinging comments in the first novels, but this tension prepared me all the more for the explosive ferocity of the last ones.

Traven's interjections ring with the libertarian communist message. Take for example, this ironic discussion of the economic freedom of one of Mexico's rural working class.

"He was a free labourer. He only had to pay his employer what he owed him and then he might go where he liked. The whole world was his and all it produced. No one forced him to run up debts, neither the law nor the state compelled him to. He was entirely free to choose whether he contracted debts or not. If he did not amass capital in order one day to be a forwarding agent, a factory owner or a finquero, it was only because he did not choose to save. The way was open to anyone who wanted to start a bank. If the labourer did not become a banker it was only because he blew all he got. The capitalist system is all a myth, trumped up by agitators and anarchists in order to fan the flames of a world revolution and take over the banks and perfumed daughters of the directors. Save, workingman, and then you can acquire the bank at the first corner you come to . . . without the bother of a world revolution."

Traven doesn't avoid throwing out more serious advice either. After describing a tribe's unique annual process of electing and keeping their chief honest, he says,

"Workers would be advised to adopt this well-proven Indian method of election, particularly with the officials of their trade unions and political organisations — and not only in Russia, where it is most necessary. In all other countries, too, where Marx and Lenin are set up as saints the militant working class could achieve success much more surely if they lit a good fire yearly under their leaders' behinds. No leader is indispensable. And the more often leaders are put on red hot seats, the more lively the political movement would be. Above all things, the people must never be sentimental."

Traven (a pseudonym) is an interesting story in himself. He has been the subject of much speculation, because since first becoming known with the publication of *Death Ship* in Germany in 1926, Traven has refused to meet the press in public or in person, or to divulge many details about his life. Traven insists that readers meet him through his writing, saying that in large part, his novels are drawn from personal experience. (See *C.P. Review*, No. 2.)

But the general relief of Traven's life has been pieced together. He was born in Chicago in 1890 to Norwegian-Swedish emigrant parents. As a child, he started working at a very early age and then shipped out as a cabin boy at about age ten. Traven played some role in the political life of Germany during 1913-1919.

He was an actor in Munich at the time and began publishing a semi-clandestine anarchist journal *Der Ziegelbrenner* (The Brickburner) under the name "Ret Marut." He continued publishing for several years and threw himself into the abortive German revolution in 1918 in an attempt to influence it in a radical-libertarian direction. When the revolution failed, Traven was arrested, but managed to escape. As a fugitive, he published a dozen further issues of the Brickmaker. Then in 1920, he emigrated to Mexico where he began to write novels.

Traven as a writer has been very well-known to European readers, but he has remained relatively unknown in the United States. Part of this neglect is undoubtedly due to the reluctance of American publishers to

publish novels with such strong, pointed class-conscious content. Indeed, Traven's books have on occasion been banned. Nazi Germany did it, confiscating his German royalties and threatening his life. The Jungle Novels in particular made the big landowners in Mexico uneasy to the point where they too threatened to do him in.

But this kind of reaction is easily understood. Our enemies know good, subversive literature when they see it. They are afraid of the oxygen it brings to our fire. They know it fans the flames of discontent.

If you're finding the weather a little cold this winter and politics a little tepid, nursing a Bicentennial hangover during Jimmy Carter's honeymoon, I would highly recommend stoking your fires with the Jungle Novels.

(from *Soil of Liberty*) Nhat Hong

Faraway World: An Orkney Childhood, W. Towrie Cutt, Illustrated by J. Sloan, Andre Deutsche, £2.95.

In *Faraway World* William Towrie Cutt has emptied his boyhood pockets of all the detailed fragments of experience that have remained with him into adulthood. He presents them to us without the cleverness of judgement of an adult capturing instead, the unsentimental, simple, intense sense of involvement he had in life as a boy on the Orkney Island of Sanday. There being so many romantic accounts idealising the past it is a welcome evocation of 'ordinary' life. There are moments of excitement, as when a barque broke in two on a sunken reef and its "bowswirled round and sank. The stern half came turning end over end to the back of the pier." But most of the book is a careful presentation of small details: games played at school, words used, harvesting methods, the Christmas Party, a description of how when there was ice "Van men and carters screwed frosters into the shoes of their horses, heavy screws with wedge heads, preventing the horses from slipping on icy roads."

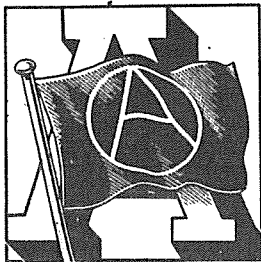
We see a world where some things have not changed: human kindness, the need for young people to leave the island for employment, bullying at school, the giving of livelihoods and the taking of lives by the sea. And of course the island itself. It is also a world that has greatly changed. In his boyhood he had a sense of the wholeness of life — he could see boats being built, wool spun, shoes made, animals being born and dying: "Today, not even in our island, far less in the cities, does much knowledge of the natural processes come first hand to the young." Toys and belongings were valued as being rare. Mechanisation has taken over from the old farming and fishing rhythms.

The book is not, however, merely interesting. A true sense of wonder arises out of an acute awareness of the ordinary. Many descriptions in this book are filled with the magic of boyhood, "The oarsman saw seaweeds of different shapes and colours, and patterns in the water made by the sunlight that changed so quickly that one pattern never stayed in the memory. The sea is never monotonous." Or again, "Some of the harvesters sang as they worked. I remember especially one young man binding sheaves behind a maid he later married. At times she joined in, singing a line or two . . ." and by tying a knot at the end, "As the two soon had a small farm of their own, they worked each year in the field of yellow barley, but perhaps never again carefree as they were when young and unmarried," he tightens it into a perfect cameo.

All of which is lightened by his sense of humour as in the exuberance of the passage where a new headmaster told the schoolboys to raise their caps to their teachers, something they had never seen done, and one, on greeting a Miss Sinclair "pulled off his cap and waved it vigorously round his red head while she rode on laughing."

The wood engravings are a solid and apt accompaniment to a book that is clear, not over-ambitious and which suits the old-fashioned phrase 'a delight to read.'

Alan Cameron.



The History of the Paris Commune of 1871, P.O. Lissagaray, New Park £3.00.

This is the definitive history of the Paris Commune by one who took part in it. It has long been out of print, while learned professors dipped into it, and then gave their own interpretations.

The Commune of 1871 was one of those periods in history which light up the way to social revolution. France had been raised by the military adventurer and dictator, Napoleon III – in imitation of his famous uncle – to a pitch of exaggerated nationalism; it fell headlong into the mire, being defeated by the Prussians. "Napoleon the little" just surrendered (like the famous Napoleon, he was prepared to fight until France had been bled to the last man provided it wasn't him); simultaneously with the surrender, the whole of the Paris working class had been ruined by the war.

The artisans, radical and Proudhonian in sympathy detesting the militarism and especially the defeat of the braggart, seized power. When Marx first (as a sympathiser with Prussian victory) heard of Paris anti-militarist sentiments, he remarked irritably that the Paris workers should go and put their head in a bucket. But he later conceded that now they had "stormed the heavens." Paris has never reached those heights since.

The Republic was proclaimed at Versailles and Thiers led the attack on Paris. His counter-revolution was so savage and bloody that it crushed the workers' revolution in blood, until the so-called "propaganda by deed" of the 80s and 90s when the actions of some workers proved to all that the bourgeoisie had not crushed everything. (Needless to say, "history" and the press denounced the victims of mass murder and weeps over the few individuals in great positions who suffered the consequences later).

Lissagaray's monumental work was translated by Eleanor Marx – she fell in love with him too, to the dismay of her father who broke it off – Lissagaray was by way of being an Anarchist, and no daughter of his was going to disgrace him that way (he was a man of his time all right!)

Lissagaray was a journalist, and a soldier of the Commune; he lived to fight on against the regime and left this imperishable record of the struggle.

Albert Meltzer

Jesus – A Myth, George Brandes, published in the United States in 1926 by A.G. Boni, and in England by Brentano's in 1927.

George Brandes has and still is considered one of the world's outstanding literary critics, and his four-volume work of *Main Currents of Nineteenth Century Literature* has become a classic. He also wrote introductions and books on Julius Caesar, Byron & Shelley, Goethe, Heine, Kropotkin, La Salle, Nechaev, Nietzsche and Voltaire. It is of particular interest to see what the supposed literary critics said about the study that Brandes made of the various Bibles. Only two quotes are given from the United States and two from Great Britain in the *Book Digest* for 1927. Excerpts from these are:

"... a tissue of the most preposterous statements without any real attempt to prove them." – *Catholic World*, Feb. 1927.

"Brandes' book, weak as it is because of its brevity, becomes even weaker because of the form in which the author advances his arguments and proofs." – *Boston Transcript*, Feb. 5, 1927.

"Too prejudiced and too flippant to merit serious criticism." – *Nation and Atheneum*, March 1927.

"... its appearance in English does no service to the writer's reputation." – *Spectator*, Feb. 12, 1927.

Reason for Re-Examining Brandes' Work

The current re-emergence of all sorts of mystical religions can only be explained as the result of the chaotic uneasiness that has troubled mankind ever since the United States Government disregarded Japan's plea to surrender and instead proceeded to lawlessly and inhumanely carry out the first experiments with two atom bombs that killed hundreds of thousands of people in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, destroying both cities. This inhumane act was followed by the same Government's unleashing the equally unlawful invasion of Vietnam that resulted in the killing of untold hundreds of thousands of children, men and women, and the destruction of hundreds of cities, towns and villages. Finally, the human race now faces momentary destruction at the whim of either one of the two most armed ruling powers – Soviet Russia and the United States.

It is therefore most timely to bring forth the critical examination that George Brandes made of the various Bibles centred around the Jesus myth, which lays at the root of all religions that gullible people are still being misled by. It will likewise show the insincerity of the criticisms that were made by those who reviewed his work.

Brandes' Examination of the Various Bibles

"A new reader of the Bible would, for instance, be startled by the fact that the crucifixion of Jesus, if it ever took place, could be laid at the door of the Jews then living. For it is a proved fact, after all, that the Jews inhabiting the Palestine of those days had no jurisdiction whatsoever. Consequently they were quite unable to pronounce sentence on anybody." p.27.

"The act of healing itself (John 5:17) is described as a symbol of the entire activity of Jesus... The miracle of Jesus walking on the water implies that the Messiah is victorious, that he is a spirit, that he is the Word returning once more to its original eternity. The curing of the blind man means that the Messiah is the light of the World; the raising of Lazarus from

the dead, that he is life... The mysticism of numbers recurs everywhere. Jesus walks three times through Galilee, and three times through Judea. The number of miracles wrought in each case are three. Three times (John 13:18-21-26) he denounces Judas as the one who is to betray him. Jesus rises from the grave on the third day, and three times he lets himself be seen thereafter." p.41-42

"As far as we can make out, there exists in contemporary Roman literature no genuine reference supporting the existence of Jesus." p.55.

"... the one great truth that long ago dawned on men who had liberated themselves from the academic prejudices of professional theologians... men like Arthur Drews in Germany, J.M. Robertson in England, Alfred Loisy and Paul Louis Couchod in France... It is from this fundamental view on existence, this duplication of Jahve into a Jahve-Messiah or Jahve-Jesus, that Christianity starts. This Jesus was not born by Joseph and Mary, but by faith, hope and charity (Couchod)." p.70.

"As an earthly mortal of flesh and bones, the Jesus mentioned in the Gospels has passed out of contemporary memory within a few years... Not even Mark... had any idea of how he looked... Even in the Gospel named after Mark, he appears not as a true human being, but a magician, a worker of miracles, and one who heals by the touch of his hands... Such miraculous cures are numerous in all the gospels, but as the writers of these had no conception of science... it occurs to no one among them to let Jesus, like a Pasteur, provide a remedy that can be used for the curing of any number of cases." p.76.

"Mark is concise and comparatively sparing with the miraculous. He is aware of no genealogy of virginal birth and has no stories to tell from the childhood of Jesus." p.77.

"... the Catholic Church claims to know the exact date when Peter and Paul were executed at Rome, it is not aware of the day when Jesus was crucified..." p.84.

"A logical way of finding what is really historic would be to start by eliminating what cannot possibly be held such, and see what remains. It is to be feared that the outcome would be the same as when Peer Gynt began to peel the onion... in the end he discovered... that... the onion was nothing but layers." p.85.

"... the story of the twelve apostles as we have it in the Gospels is a myth... The legend concerned with one of these apostles has caused great mischief. That it ever gained credence does not speak well for man's acumen. For nearly two thousand years this legend of Judas, as an expression for the hatred felt by one group of men toward another, which set a devil up against the figure of light for the sake of an effective background, has caused hundreds of thousands of human beings to be tortured and murdered." p.104-105.

"Jesus calms the storm and walks on the water. But Moses had already mastered and divided the waters of the sea (Exodus 14:21). Joshua had already mastered the waters of the Jordan so that the bearers of the Ark could walk across dryshod (Joshua 3:13). Elijah had only to smite the waters with his mantle in order to divide them hither and thither so that he and Elisha could walk across the Jordan as on dry ground (II Kings 2:8)... Jesus ascends to heaven, but already Elijah had been taken up to heaven in a chariot of fire, drawn by horses of fire (II Kings 2:11)... It is impossible to overlook the extent to which miraculous actions ascribed to Elijah and his disciple Elisha in the Old Testament have become



ascribed to Jesus in the new one. At Nain Jesus recalls the single son of a widow from the dead (Luke 7:12). But this miracle of Jesus' had already been performed by Elijah (I Kings 17:17 *et seq.*). p.106-7.

"The anonymous writers of the Gospels, whom we now call the Evangelists, did not succeed in producing a consistent single image of Jesus... p.112 One can feel that the Evangelists lived in the belief that the end of the world was imminent. Therefore they let Jesus cry woe to those that were with child and to those that gave suck, just as Paul warned men to keep away from their wives at a time when the kingdom of God was at the door." p.119. "In its character, that Gospel (according to St. John) is no more historic than the Revelation... Details obtained from the other Gospels are treated quite nonchalantly in the Fourth as mere material that can be used for the erection of a many-storied theological structure only after having been saturated with symbolism and re-interpreted in a spirit which strips it of all connection with reality." p.162. "The fourth Gospel simply refers to Jesus as the son of Joseph from Nazareth. Here, as in Mark, no attention is paid to the virgin birth mentioned by Mathew and Luke." pp.172-3. "If the synoptic Gospels were what they are alleged to be, namely records by eye-witnesses, their historic value would, of course, be great. As it is, they lack this particular kind of value." p.183.

"In his 'Address of Gratitude to Lessing' Soren Kierkegaard voiced his passionate agreement with the great German passionate writer's assertion that incidental historic truths can never be used as evidence on behalf of the perennial truths of reason. It was on this basis that, in the book he named 'Training in Christianity,' he put the question: 'Can history tell us anything about Christ?' And his answer to this question was: 'No!'"

George Brandes evidently expected the kind of distorted reviews that his exposure of the Bibles and their contradictory versions about Jesus provoked when he wrote in the same volume: "Whoever proclaims the truth upsetting beliefs dear to the people must be prepared for some persecution and much abuse." p.13.

Marcus Graham.

The Whores of War, Wilfred Burchett and Derek Roebuck, Pelican 75p.

An unfortunate title to a well written book on mercenaries by two people who attended the Angolan trials.

The authors say their title shows 'no male insensitivity' and that 'the analogy of the mercenary and the prostitute is apt. In each case economic power is abused to hire human bodies.' But the insult of comparing prostitutes

to mercenaries is that the former don't set out to kill.

This said, I hope it won't discourage people from reading the book which helps to clarify the need of governments for the use of 'military operations, without the support or even sometimes the knowledge of their electorates.' Angola was particularly relevant in this context and Rhodesia's war is now the main area of mercenary operation. Imported cannon fodder becoming Smith's main source of armed force as his own white population get the 'bum's rush.'

Those interested in the ease with which John Banks was able to operate in Britain in recruiting mercenaries for Angola might well look at his involvement with the Provisional Sinn Fein as an agent provocateur as revealed in the *Leveller* No. 6. As is shown in 'The Whores of War' it looks as if some deal was made with Banks to allow him to operate here: it seems that the deal involved getting the Provisional Sinn Fein organiser in Britain into prison.

One danger of the approach adopted by Burchett and Roebuck to mercenaries is that the Official killers hired by the State are somehow legitimated. We thus get the wicked illegitimate soldiers making the official war machines seem respectable. The only violence worthy of respect however, is that of the oppressed ridding themselves of tyrants.



Prisoners In Revolt, Mike Fitzgerald, Penguin £1.00. *The American Prison Business*, Jessica Mitford, Penguin £1.00.

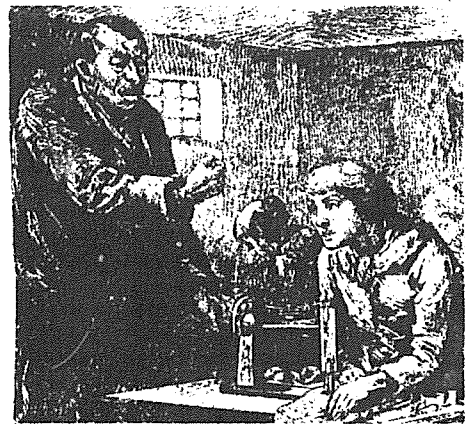
In 1969 the old *Anarchy* magazine devoted an issue to 'Libertarian Criminology' with such writers as Jock Young and Stan Cohen making contributions. Since those days these two have become leading members of the National Deviancy Conference, the former with Walton and Taylor has written 'The New Criminology' a criticism of liberal deviancy theory in sociology as exemplified by David Matza and 'Critical Criminology' a more or less Marxist attempt at criminology which makes the debate more political. Stan Cohen has maintained a fairly libertarian position and

not gone over to Marx for academic refuge.

The influence of these two gents can be felt in an excellent book by Mike Fitzgerald on *Prison in Britain*. Chapter 1 is a fine summary on 'The Functions of Imprisonment' in which he destroys the reformist argument for prison and shows abolition is the only viable answer. "Prisons have to be seen as an integral part of the control apparatus of industrial capitalism," thus we need to show to whom prisons are useful as "reinforcing the prevalent ideology that it is individuals, not social institutions, that are to blame for social problems and for social failure." With over 90% of the prison population working class it can be seen that prison is "a mechanism by which the most powerful group within the ruling class imposes its viewpoint upon the class as a whole, and guides and educates the masses." Fitzgerald then points to the prisoners' movement as a response to prison and argues for a redefinition of the relationship between working class movements and prisoners. As Marx called the lumpen proletariat scum and parasites Marxists have certainly some re-defining to do!

A lot of Fitzgerald's book then describes the activities of PRON and examines testimonies of prisoners. Jessica Mitford's outraged account of American prisons is amazingly readable: add the black population in high percentage of the working class in prison and one can see that prisons are internal colonies in which class and race war are engaged with one side holding nearly every weapon. Prison is the price only the anarchists have never to pay for their philosophy for our prison policy was shown for the world to see by Durutti who freed Spanish prisoners in 1936 and engaged them in his own Iron Column for carrying out expropriations and waging the war against the common enemy — fascism.

Jerry Westall.



Working in Canada, edited by Walter Johnson, Black Rose, hardback \$12.95, paperback \$3.95.

When Walter Johnson went to work in a car factory near Montreal he had, like many young workers, been through the "usual variety of jobs", but hoped for some sort of job fulfilment and needless to say didn't find it. He began looking around at industrial society, and his conclusions as to what makes it tick are contained in this book, which is contributions from a number of mainly young Canadian workers. The job alienation and frustration is pretty universal and (though it's a tribute to the writers who contribute to the book) sounds like a refreshingly novel approach to work study, when it's really what every worker knows.

But sheer lack of organisation and

independence will amaze readers in more advanced countries — and it is amazing to find how backward Canada is. Pete Taylor, writing about working in the Post Office, describes a situation where the unions might as well not exist. “On the shop floor, our struggles were conducted almost totally outside the union . . . During a strike, however, the union made itself felt . . . they are sort of like supervisors who were always telling us what we could and couldn’t do (*in strikes*)”. That is not uncommon elsewhere, but the sheer lack of concern when there is no industrial dispute on is echoed by others.

Claude Petelle, “working in an auto plant” says when he was a union official “he always had to go to the rank and file workers on the shop floor and tell them they didn’t have any problems” — which is why he didn’t run for re-election.

He and Johnson make a shrewd point about the new intellectual “involvement” whereby one “receives a grant to write among other things about conditions in the automobile industry.” They say “you’re free, you can write about what’s bugging you,” and be subsidised to do so. But your friends back at work “must continue being miserable.” This is one of the growth-industries of modern times.

There are also interesting sidelights on working in a printshop, in an office, on an assembly line and so on. Only Jean-Marie Gonthier — who works in an aircraft plant but is involved on fairly extensive union activities outside, gives an indication that there in any real organisation of Canadian workers — otherwise, our continued supply of immigrant labour from Britain to Canada looks as if it’s kept the level of resistance down to what it was here in the thirties.

Of a completely different nature to other essays in Gary Jewell’s autobiographical essay, showing how he began his “life long hate relation with the inanity of American society.” . . . a culture which keeps a boy in “a fantasy cocoon until he is 18 . . .” then sends him to Vietnam or a factory which “rapes its youth and cripples its soul.” It is about the USA rather than Canada, and written well in the vein of the hobo rail-hopping heroic past of the IWW — which he clearly, and rightly, admires.

A.M.



Revolution is Fun

Down the Road : unemployment and the fight for the right to work, Sarah Cox and Robert Golden, Writers & Readers Publishing Co-op, £1.50, 128pp, 95 photos.

This book is beautifully produced, carefully laid out, with just the right amount of balance between text and pictures — in fact its so well “finished” that it reminds me of nothing so much as the type of booklets that the Careers Advisory Service stock, or prospec-

tive employers dole out to prospective wage-slaves in an attempt to sell them an image.

Which perhaps it is, as the whole purpose of this volume seems to be to drum up more support for the Socialist Workers Party’s ‘Right to Work’ campaign. (Incidentally, although it’s not mentioned anywhere in the book, the authors are giving their ‘royalties’ to the Right to Work campaign). Being a slick bit of advertising for SWP (formerly IS) doesn’t, however, mean that the book is without value — just that it has to be dug for among the Socialist Worker phraseology and the photos of the 1930s (which SWP are in danger of turning into visual clichés).

The real strength of this book lays not so much in the line of reasoning, which tends to overlook many of the factors that have lead to the current crisis (such as ecological considerations, the emerging individual challenge to authority in all its forms, and the decline of the work ethic), but in the way in which the authors provide hard facts and case histories within the text, and skillfully place the acts and thoughts of individuals within their social context.

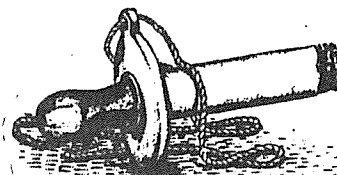
For all its faults, SWP are the only far left organisation that appears to be seriously trying to build up an industrial organisation (most of the others pay lip-service to the idea, but opt out of anything that doesn’t have associations with the Labour Party). In doing so they are adopting many of the ideas of British syndicalists, and the Minority Movement, albeit under the guidance of their own “party.” But times and circumstances have changed and so has the nature of unemployment and methods once used to fight the dole queues may not be the best to use now.

Unemployment is traditionally the weapon used to discipline an organised and self-assertive working class (or sections of it). “Create a reserve of unemployed people and you keep wages down through the natural mechanism of supply and demand” is how the argument does. In times when long periods of training are often required to fill jobs, and when the unemployed are cushioned (to an extent) by a better dole than before, such methods don’t always work as well as they should. Unemployment is best sabotaged, it seems, not by demanding to be given shitty jobs, but by refusing to work even when jobs are available. The fight to control our own lives naturally results in fighting redundancy, but the struggle must not end there, — all too often people on the left support the demand for a “right to work” at the expense of the many other rights we should have.

In my opinion, though, the book’s most serious omission, is a lack of any comparison with countries where large-scale, long-term unemployment is normal, and where the people have organised themselves to overcome the many problems caused by lack of paid work. It’s not that I’m attempting to idolise the self-organisation that has taken place, but it does carry important implications for us, even though the technological level of society and the nature of unemployment in those countries is not the same as we experience. The authors also lack any understanding of the way in which groups like SWP subvert social struggle by re-directing energies into “building the revolutionary party.”

That said, I seem to have been more critical of this book that I intended, as a lot of thoughtful work has gone into its preparation. It could have been better but it is worth reading.

Paul Wilson.



On The 100th Anniversary of the First General Strike in the U.S., Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer, News & Letters, Detroit.

The News and Letters Committees have come out with a new pamphlet: *On the 100th Anniversary of the First General Strike in the U.S.* It’s a very handsome work, richly illustrated, and appears — at first glance — to fill a very crying need. The great Railway Strike of 1877 was perhaps the single greatest uprising of the American working class. That it swept from the Atlantic to Pacific and spawned dramatic occasions like the St. Louis General Strike and full-scale military battles on the east coast is something that should be more widely known. In fact, the Age of American Socialism 1877-1947 began with this strike.

Unfortunately, the pamphlet at hand does not give the full story — although its illustrations give some hint. The pamphlet focuses on one primary incident, the St. Louis General Strike — led, of course, by German Marxists — and includes other themes well expected from *News and Letters*: “The Black Revolt,” “Forgotten Women Hegellians,” and “Marx and the First International.”

Let’s weigh up the good and bad points. The coverage of the St. Louis events is good, especially the emphasis that it transcended a strike and became an armed Commune put down only by U.S. troops diverted from the Indian Campaigns. Good too is the coverage of the Black worker participation in the strike. Hegel, on the other hand, is for them that likes it. The pamphlet fails on three points:

1. It does not give adequate coverage to the continent-wide railway strike.
2. ‘Marx and the International’ blows Marxism way out of proportion and grossly under-rates the Anarchists.
3. The ‘Black Revolt’ section itself is good — but *N&L* fails to face up to the most crucial racial question posed by the 1877 revolt. Namely, the ‘Yellow Peril’. In Salt Lake City and San Francisco the strike degenerated into an anti-Chinese pogrom — white workers accusing Chinese immigrants of scabbing and undercutting the pay scale. Chinese were beaten in the streets, shops looted and fired.

The criticisms, in order: 1. The Railways strike became a generalised worker revolt. Armed mobs of workers captured trains, rail terminals, entire towns and looted and burned millions of dollars worth of railway goods. Armies of police, Pinkertons and State militias swept working class environs in massive search-and-seize operations. Pitched battles flared in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburg and across Maryland, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio. In one engagement workers captured canons and Gatling machine-guns and decisively defeated the State Militia. Sharp fighting occurred in Chicago and St. Louis until Federal cavalry were dispatched against the strikers. 2. Marx and the International leaves one with the impression that Marx headed the International Workingmen’s association and that his followers dominated the movement in the United States. This was untrue. In the U.S., the Marxists controlled only the St. Louis section, with strength in New York City.

Anarchists headed the equally important Chicago and Pittsburg sections. Untrue therefore is the *N&L* assertion that the anarchists became activated only by the later 8-hour day movement of the 1880s.

Marx had expelled the anarchists from International in Europe, but had done so with a minority at a rump Congress. At a Congress two days later the Anarchists following Bakunin – over one-third of the International, including the majority Italian, southern French and Spanish worker federations – declared themselves still operable and a challenge to the less than one-third Marxist wing, mostly German Socialists. Moreover the one-third plus centrist faction – trade unionists, libertarian socialists and Lasalleans, representing Switzerland, Belgium, Britain (to which Marx himself belonged), the United States, etc. – voted motions of censure against Marx's precipitous manoeuvre.

Marx had also moved the headquarters of the International to New York, but to no avail. In the United States the Anarchists remained in the same federation as the Marxists. The American section, still mostly German immigrants, split along three lines: Marxist-Bakuninist-Lasalleans. Then, in the economic crisis of the 1870s, native-born workers began joining. In 1876 the International in New York disbanded in favour of the new Workingmen's Party of North America. Among key leaders was Albert Parsons, a labour organiser in Chicago (who was originally from Alabama and had married a Black woman, Lucy Parsons). Parsons was an important figure in the 1877 strike. In 1878, the Workingmen's Party became the Socialist Labour Party, but a dispute brewed between Marxists and libertarians and in 1881 Parsons led-out the rebel majority to form the Revolutionary Socialist Labour Party (leaving the SLP a pitiful 1,500 members). Anarchists held a Congress in Pittsburg in 1883 to establish the International Working People's Association – the famous Black International. Parsons joined and with German anarchist militants built up the Central Labour Union in Chicago which, to the consternation of Marxists, still affiliated to the larger world International (defunct as an organisation but alive as a movement). In 1886 they led the 8-hour day movement in Chicago – which culminated in the McCormick strike and Haymarket Square massacre. Parsons and four German anarchists were condemned to death by hanging. Nationwide persecution crushed the anarchist movement, from which it was not to recover until anarcho-syndicalists joined with Marxian Socialists in 1905 to found the IWW.

News and Letters mentions none of this. Albert Parsons figures most prominently, in fact, in the section titled "Marxists in America." Anarchists are singled out but once and then as a tag-end element, *N&L* inferring that not until the 1886 events did they become active. Otherwise, they are mere "labour radicals." That is cheating, *News and Letters*.

3. Racism... Although the 1877 events had a strong Black component, the strike degenerated along racial lines in the West, with attacks on Chinese immigrants. Similarly, the Knights of Labour of the 1870s and 80s organised Blacks but refused admission to Chinese and agitated for exclusionist immigration legislation.

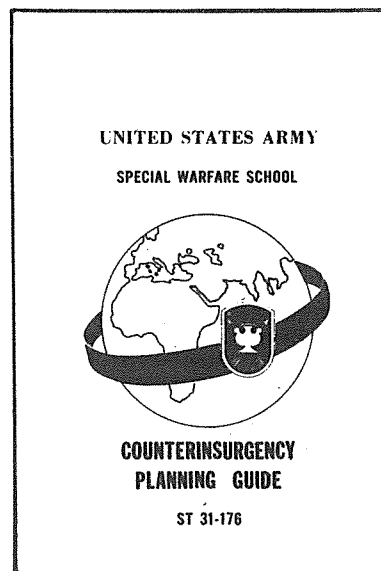
There are two sides to the issue, tragically. One, is that White racism, exacerbated by capitalist provocation, is to blame. Two, is that many Chinese – starving, desperate, fleeing invaded and civil-war-torn China,

manipulated by mafia-style Tongs – were indeed scabbing and undercutting the wage rates on the West Coast. Anti-Chinese bias was not confined to Whites. Mexican *mestizos* also attacked, even mass-murdered Chinese – including guerrilla leaders Joaquin Murrietta in California and Pancho Villa in Mexico.

Had white, black, yellow and brown workers united, the problem would have been erased. But they did not and so we are left with an appalling mess. It was to arise again in 1919 during the great Steel Strike, the most crucial of the period. The Steel Trust, foreseeing trouble in the Red Year of 1919, sent agents into the South offering Black families 'good' jobs in northern steel mills and special seating on chartered trains. The Ku Klux Klan stepped in to clinch the deal; the entire Black populations of whole towns were herded at gun-point aboard the Steel Trust trains. The Blacks were unknowingly brought in to scab and did in fact break the Steel Strike, confined to shanty towns by night and escorted by gunthugs into the mills by day. In Chicago the sudden influx of Black migrants into a city already swollen with White migrants and East European Immigrants touched off a racist explosion. Already holding a number of racist attitudes, it was all too easy for the defeated White workers to turn on fellow victims of the plot. Assaults, looting, arson, murder (the latter on both sides).

These are the facts and the tragedy. If we do not face up to them, we will be defeated before we even start.

G. Jewell.



Guerrillas and Terrorists, Richard Clutterbuck, Faber & Faber, £4.25 and *Policing a Perplexed Society*, Sir Robert Mark, George Allen & Unwin, £2.50.

The police in Britain are fast changing their traditional image, from a collection of unarmed and politically independent forces linked to the community through public acceptance of their presence, to a European style centralised force playing a key role in a national (and increasingly international) strategy, along with the military and intelligence services, aimed at containing and destroying opposition in what the state now views as a future of increased political strife and violence. As the state prepares its weaponry and technology to be ready to meet its role, it is interesting to note a parallel appearance of a growing body of literature discussing the theory behind

the practice of policing and counter-insurgency. Two such books are Sir Robert Mark's *Policing a Perplexed Society* and *Guerrillas and Terrorists*, the latest in a series of works by Richard Clutterbuck, who besides lecturing at Exeter University and preferring to be known as "Dr." is well versed in the application of the technique with which he deals in print, as an ex-Major General in the British Army. The reason behind this sudden flood of writing is summed up by Clutterbuck: "My purpose in writing this book is to contribute to the understanding and cooperation between the police, the public and the media."

Clutterbuck's book carries on from his previous works in studying past guerrilla and terrorist campaigns, and drawing lessons from them which he hopes will teach the state to deal more effectively in meeting what he sees as "the prevalent form of conflict for our time." His general remarks are in themselves revealing of the state's attitude to violence. Terrorism, he writes "... is the recourse of a minority... it is primarily an attack on the rule of law, aimed either to destroy it or (as in more recent times) to change it radically to conform to the terrorists own idea of society." He sees "Individual violence... is proving more effective than public demonstrations and riots for exerting internal pressure." And so, perhaps, is a little clearer in his thinking than many of those hailing themselves as "revolutionaries." What really upsets people like Clutterbuck, who belong to a minority which has been inflicting its violence upon society for centuries, is that "Guerrillas now exercise a power previously exercised by governments."

He is quite correct in saying that "... the most important battle in guerrilla warfare... (is)... the battle for the support of the people." And he admits that this is why he has written the book! He fails to, or doesn't want to, take note of the interrelationship that undoubtedly exists between the strengths of rival parties and public support. Military spokesmen such as himself always talk about winning people over to their side, but in practice their superiority of arms means that the actual proportion of people they need to win over is relatively quite small. The stronger you are the less active support you need, just as in the case of most successful guerrilla movements the weaker the guerrillas are the more support they need from the community to offset the imbalance of arms.

He manages to be quite interesting at times in discussing guerrilla campaigns in South East Asia, and writes with grudging admiration of the IRA and obvious appreciation of Mao's qualities as military commander (kindred spirits no doubt!) for he can readily understand why someone should wage war for power and state control. But in dealing with revolutionary groups like the Angry Brigade, SLA and "Baader-Meinhof gang" he can only conclude that they are all "Situationists", and "mad" to boot: "This dangerous form of madness seems to be the product not of poverty, but of affluence and higher education."

"All the convicted members of the Angry Brigade had been to university. The members of the Baader-Meinhof gang (Red Army Faction) were recruited from a sports-car set and, unlike some, used the proceeds from bank robberies to maintain that style of life."

This is fairly typical of Clutterbuck's dual technique of writing. On the one hand he is saying things which he wants his readers (who for him, are those who will fight terrorism) to take note of, but he is also in passages like

these simply making propaganda aimed at discrediting those guerrillas nearer home.

"Ultimately, terrorism can be defeated only if it can be seen not to pay, both in the long term and the short term. This is primarily a task for good police work, supported by cool and determined government, and by a co-operative public, and the media have a vital role to play."

Mark is rather more candid about what "good police work" and "determined government" mean. "A minority which attempts by armed force to prevent government by consent or to usurp the function of government is engaging in revolutionary activity . . . If that minority is sufficiently large, sooner or later it will be necessary to decide whether the ultimate sanction of force rather than the ordinary democratic process of law is necessary to contain or suppress it. Northern Ireland is a classic example . . ." But the main bone of contention seems who does what, and between the police and army, who gets pride of place?

Police and army links are rather more formalised than they would have us think, for all their public rivalry. Every two weeks a committee composed of high high representatives from the police, army, intelligence services, the Home Office and Ministry of Defence (chaired by J. Harwood head of Section S8 at the Home Office, and a civil servant) meets in Whitehall to discuss co-ordination and future trends. One of the most powerful voices on that committee is the army — confident, after long experience in political conflict and counter-insurgency in Northern Ireland, that they would have the know how to work in that direction on the mainland too, given the chance.

Ironically, for all Mark's unwillingness to be seen to be getting tough, in trying to maintain their position in the face of army rivalry, the police have begun to turn themselves into soldiers. Armed specialist squads are fast turning them into the sort of 'Third Force' that they are most anxious should not be set up. At any one time, in London alone, there are up to 200 armed police out on the streets. At least six units in the capital have been set up to fight terrorism and carry arms (in addition to the 'normal' armed capabilities of all policemen). The Special Patrol Group is the best known, but the most dangerous is the D.11 Squad which made its first and only public appearance at the Balcombe Street siege. They have a highly armed capability, using weapons which are neither standard nor recommended for other police units including the army issue Belgian FN self-loading rifle and Israeli Uzzi sub-machine gun. The provincial forces, besides being able to call upon the talents of London based specialists, also maintain an armed presence with their own marksmen (trained on army ranges) and Regional Crime Squads.

If the police will not accept the army's presence on the streets, they are ready to borrow from their expertise in other areas, most noticeably in intelligence gathering (and the employment of formidable computer systems). As Clutterbuck points out, "Apart from the cost in money and manpower, effective police work against terrorism depends above all on intelligence and intelligence depends on public co-operation." When Mark says, "My fundamental belief . . . is that the reputation of a police force basically depends on its acceptability . . .", and stresses the importance of involving the public in the work of the police, Clutterbuck puts it in a nutshell: they should be used as ". . . the eyes

and ears of the police Special Branch . . ."

The army, post Kitson, is more and more turning its attention to the possibility of dealing with internal trouble through extending its long existing role of "military assistance to the Civil Authorities" (usually thought of in terms of clearing up flood damage, or at worst maintaining essential services during strikes) to cover every counter-insurgency role, from providing the S.A.S. on three minute stand-by, ordering soldiers to use force to keep public order, or putting troops around an airport. Indeed, most major airports have been recently handed over to the local police forces for policing. They have visited every airport in Britain to study the layout and set up lines of communication that might be used in an emergency.

Mark is very clear about where he thinks the army fits in. The army "... who does not act, as a police force does, on behalf of the community as a whole, but on the orders of its political masters to whom it is, through its command structure, accountable."

"The ultimate objective of the army is to contain the situation . . . until return to government by consent permits the resumption of ordinary policing." "... there is a need for contingency plans for military aid to deal with situations in which defensive armour, sophisticated weaponry and specialised training. . . (are needed) . . . in dealing with armed and dangerous men inspired by political motives; in other words political terrorists as distinct from armed criminals."

Both the police and the army are having difficulties which contribute to the idea of having a formalised and separate 'Third Force' it is now argued. The police are strained by rising crime and serious undermanning; the army is under strain in Northern Ireland and has a NATO commitment to maintain. Though this hardly fits the facts as Clutterbuck sees them. "If terrorism reaches such a scale as to be beyond the control of the police, even backed by the most stringent emergency legislation, how then should society react? The army forms the ultimate defence of the state against internal destruction. Most countries, however, also have a 'Third Force,' or several such forces, between the army and police to deal with either riots or terrorist attacks, and policemen themselves are unarmed unless specifically detailed to deal with armed criminals or terrorists."

In what circumstances should the police call upon the army for assistance in Public Security? Where the attack or threat can be adequately dealt with by a small number of individual marksmen, this is best left to the police.

"Soldiers should be called in when it seems likely that the attack may lead to a tactical battle involving fire and movement . . . The British police are neither equipped nor trained for such a role, and it is better that they should not be. That is why Sir Robert Mark had no hesitation in calling on the army to meet the threat at Heathrow.

Britain does not need a 'Third Force' because there is nothing it could do which either the police (with marksmen) or the army (with infantry platoons or the S.A.S.) could not do better."

Clutterbuck thinks a police riot squad, suitably equipped would do better than either a 'Third Force' or the army, and indeed the appearance of plastic riot shields for the first time in England during the Lewisham riot recently suggests this is what is happening in practice. The police (Mark prominent amongst

them) believe in the 'social contract' between the police and the public (suitably backed up by a sympathetic media) will prevail long enough to make a 'Third Force' unnecessary. Mark repeatedly stresses that policing is dependent on "public approval and consent," which should not be damaged by over-reaction by the police. "Attempts to achieve political objectives by coercion or violence are, of course, unlawful . . . but to counter them by excessive violence may in practice go far to help militants to achieve their aims or allow them a degree of public sympathy or support which they would not otherwise receive. The police therefore, both as a matter of law and of strategy, adhere strictly to the doctrine of minimum force . . ."

Both Mark and Clutterbuck agree that the appearance of the military or a para-military 'Third Force' (except in exceptional circumstances) would damage this special relationship. And that realising that if control is to be maintained then the public must accept (or at least not actively oppose) it, then only the police have a sufficiently 'low profile' image to do the enforcing and escape people's anger. "The unarmed policeman can only operate," says Clutterbuck, "if people accept that they are responsible for his safety as much as he is responsible for theirs."

For those of us on the receiving end, the police/army rivalry is not at all crucial. When things get out of hand the army will certainly be brought in at some point; and life under either a military regime or police state is not vastly different for those who must suffer it. It is not possible in advance to predict how the state forces will react in any given situation with any accuracy. Clutterbuck is right (from his point of view) to say that the state has to increase co-operation at all levels. But unless we had the chance to drive a wedge between the police and army the discussion is one which gets the first shot is irrelevant. What is important is that we are prepared to fight whoever the enemy is and that we choose the right weapons to do so. Reading these two books might help.

Des Perado.



Critique of Syndicalist Methods: Trade-unionism to anarcho-syndicalism. Alfredo M. Bonanno. Bratach Dubh, Port Glasgow, 1977, 30p.

The Sicilian anarchist Alfredo Bonanno is a prolific writer. In the young Scottish comrade Jean Weir (his English translator) and the shipyard welder Andy McGowan (his Scottish distributor), Bonanno has found hard-working propagandists. Their last collaborative effort, *Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle*, was taken from a larger piece on Sicilian separatist agitation and its CIA link (a portion of which *Black Flag* also published). I liked the piece and pushed its distribution. Most readers objected, however, to the far too literal translation from the Italian and refused to wade through the encumbrances. A pity.

In *Critique of Syndicalist Methods* Jean Weir has taken McGowan's advice and put the piece into simpler English. Much the better

and more readable. Problem this time is content. Bonanno's argument rings false, like so many other critiques of syndicalism. Mutual problem for them all is two-fold. One, they don't know what syndicalism is and can't differentiate it from trade unionism. Two, they romanticise 'worker councilism' and 'worker spontaneity', as if they were the much-sought Holy Grail, found at long last, dear Parsifal! So much so that it loses touch with actual economic and social reality and becomes the self-indulgence of intellectuals.

Trade unionism and revolutionary syndicalism (including anarcho-syndicalism) were never the same phenomenon. Trade unionism is a further development of medieval guild societies into the capitalist epoch. A defensive, insular bargaining unit ensconced within the prevailing socio-economic system, it made its transition from guild to craft union in the 1700s, at the onset of the Industrial Revolution. First to emerge were the printers' unions in Europe and North America, which, taking in related shop workers, became trade unions as we know them. These craft-cum-trade unions stratified in the 19th century and formed the bedrock of the TUC and AFL-CIO, to name two. The only change occurred under the challenge of revolutionary syndicalism, when the craft and trade unions adopted semi-industrial formations. (e.g. the CIO semi-Industrials after IWW agitation, the TUC after the syndicalist shop stewards movement on the eve of the First World War).

Revolutionary syndicalism originated where craft and trade workers were forcibly shut-out by reactionary regimes and among the mass of mixed-industrial workers scorned by the crafts and trades. Examples of the former were the reactionary systems in Italy, France and Spain, of the latter the mining, metal foundry and railway workers in mass-capital nations such as Britain and the USA.

Bakunin saw, as early as 1866, that an extension of the Proudhonist concept of producer co-operatives into the mass-industrial field was feasible. He advocated the formation and federation of worker associations on a global scale. It was possible, he argued, for the producer federation to co-ordinate industrial production without benefit of nation or political State, and, coming from the directives of the worker co-operatives themselves, this new system would regenerate the social life of mankind.

This idea, adopted after the bloody failures of the Paris Commune and defencist period of the Propaganda of the Deed, became the cornerstone of syndicalism, as it historically manifested. The idea took two forms:

1. Anarcho-syndicalism – expressly anti-State and decentralised. As it turned out almost all, if not all, were a hodge-podge of craft, trade and semi-industrial unions loosely federated. Examples: CNT in Spain, CGT in Portugal, FORA in Argentina.
2. Revolutionary syndicalism – less anarchist, although anti-State, often more centralised and open to socialists including 'libertarian' Marxists. Examples: SAC in Sweden, FAUD in Germany, pre-WWI CGT in France. Variants were the revolutionary industrial unionism of the IWW and the socialist industrial union government of the Marxist-DeLeonists.

Both revolutionary and anarchist syndicalism were dedicated to the overthrow of Capital and the political state (even the DeLeonists, who claimed their Socialist Labour Party would dissolve itself in favour of the industrial union congress the very day it, backed by the unions, took legal power).

Both advocated total control by the workers – varying from the loose federative and communal system of the CNT to the screwed-down mass-industrial One Big Union of the IWW. Both prided themselves on the check-and-balance measures, based on the experience of the Paris Commune, which would, they said, assure control by the rank-and-file units.

The emphasis was never on the daily struggle but on the daily struggle as the *means to the final solution*. That was Historical Syndicalism – and, success or failure, a far cry from trade unionism, both in origin and method.

Yet Bonanno, like others, debases history and renders "syndicalism" to its crude Latin root words and uses the term to denote the most opposite of things. In his pamphlet, he begins by discussing the Communist CGIL in Italy, skips over to the fascist 'vertical syndicates' in Spain, moves on to the Communist CGT in France, then flies on to the UAW in the USA, back to the reactionary F.O. in France, to the Socialist CFDT in same . . . what the hell is Bonanno trying to prove? Syndicalism this may be in strict Latin, but not in the *real* world of the last 100 years; certainly not to revolutionary workers who fought and died for it. With the exception of the French CGT (captured by Socialists in WWI and Communists in WWII), none of the unions cited above were ever part of the syndicalist movement.

Finally, however, Bonanno – having already stacked the deck by innuendo – comes down to historical reality. He begins to discuss revolutionary syndicalism. Right off the start he places his foot in his mouth. "Sorel," he says, as every good Marxist or bourgeois historian, " . . . theorised revolutionary syndicalism." That is crap. Sorel was a petite-bourgeois intellectual, an engineer in semi-retirement, originally a Marxist, who in 1906 published a few articles in an obscure magazine, which, collected into a book in 1908, became a big seller. Rather late in the story, one might add: the Charter of Amiens was already promulgated in 1906 after earlier draftings. What Sorel, disenchanted with legalistic French socialism, said was that the general strike and direct action sabotage and violence practised by some CGT workers might very well break the spell of parliamentary pacifism in France and incite the workers to actual revolt.

Revolutionary syndicalism, however, had already been 'theorised' by Bakunin in 1866 and by the Jura Federation of the 1870s in their pamphlet on general strike, sabotage and guerrilla warfare. Which Bonanno is forced to touch on in the next section of his piece, "Limitations of anarcho-syndicalism."

Here Bonanno castigates the revisionism of SAC in Sweden and the authoritarianism of the Spanish CNT, uplifted only by the pinch of anarchism in both. Bonanno errs immediately by calling the SAC "anarcho-syndicalist." It was not, nor was the International Workers Association established in 1922 (which was a coalition of: anarcho-syndicates and revolutionary syndicates). Only after the demise of the revolutionary syndicates at the hands of Fascism did the SAC use some mention of 'anarcho-syndicalism,' in deference to the remaining anarcho-syndicalist fragments. SAC was revolutionary syndicalist and became 'libertarian syndicalist' under the impact of Swedish social-democracy in the WWII era. Bonanno also falsifies when he claims for anarcho-syndicalism *alone* the *pretence* of 'control of production by the producers themselves.' Are we to believe that the IWW,

for instance, favoured control in the hands of the Capitalists?

Syndicalism, he argues, is revisionist or authoritarian. Only the anarchist content smells of the sweet virgin birth. SAC lost sanctity as the result of Satanic conspiracy. The SAC Leadership sold-out to the pacific social-democratic mainstream of Swedish society. What the Swedish Workers really crave is "destruction of work . . . destruction of the State." But the SAC pacifists managed to tie-and-gag these would-be bloody Insurrectors. Oh glorious Swedish workers, Bonanno will defend you if SAC will not!

In point of fact, it was the SAC rank-and-file who demanded that SAC forswear 'class war' and adopt "libertarian syndicalism." Many of the SAC leaders and militants were ousted when they objected . . . *Yet to Bonanno, workers are always revolutionary; only their leaders sell them out. What arrogant condescension. (*We know this for a fact in the IWW, as many SAC militants were two-card SAC and IWW members and informed the IWW of such).

Finally, Bonanno gets to the old whipping boy. "Poor Bakunin . . . poor working class," he cries, sold out by the CNT. And here Bonanno falsifies as if the sky were the limit. All – 100% – of the CNT leaders were Big Bureaucrats in the Popular Front government, or else masturbating in a dark corner. All – 100% – of the collectivisation and street fighting with fascists and Communists – was done by the great faceless masses. In fact, everyone, 100% – of the FAI were bureaucrats on the side of the CNT.

The 'Friends of Durruti' fighting in 1937 were simply "anarchists" or POUMists. The fact that they were CNT and FAI members, as were the FAI pistoleros executing Stalinist commissars and secret police, is not to be mentioned. That would hurt Bonanno's argument. No, they were just nameless "anarchists." Only the leaders were CNT or FAI. Imagine, a union of one million leaders.

Now we approach the Last Station of the Cross. Be ye not led unto Temptation. Look ye not at that positive which the CNT hath done, but only at the negative . . . But when it comes to the Russian Soviets in the very next section, Bonanno argues that we should not dwell on how easily they were captured by Bolsheviks, but rather at their positive worker base. Yet in Hungary 1956 we should note the dangerous reliance on 'good' Communists. Bonanno covers just about every position. 1918 Germany, Red Hamburg, the worker rebels were betrayed by the parties and unions, says he. True enough, but they were also defeated by the bad organisation of their miserable councils.

Yet Bonanno argues that co-ordinated action – sabotage, strikes, etc. – by strong revolutionary unions is bad, because the co-ordination makes for leadership, which is bad. Sabotage and strikes should be committed by small groups of workers. It will thus spread – voila! – la Revolution! The historically-backed fact that the minor upsurges would more likely be surrounded and liquidated, that the rulers' press, radio and T.V. would black-out the news – that is not to be considered. The whole relationship between autonomous guerrilla units and the overall unifying strategy, that is lost to Bonanno.

Trade unionism and revolutionary syndicalism are the same in content: counter-revolutionary. Because some anarcho-syndicalists have sold-out, all will sell-out. The only solution says Bonanno, is that on the eve of the

Revolution (which will be clearly marked on the calendar") the anarcho-syndicalists should dissolve themselves. And, I suppose, await the Butcher's Block with the rest of God's Elect. In fact, Bonanno doesn't even want councils this time. Just tiny cell groups.

Bonanno concludes with the crudest 'Back to the Trees' appeal I've ever read. Somehow small "grass-roots cells" of anarchists and their worker friends (dumb guys who don't like dem fancy speeches at union meetings'. "I'd rather go home and screw sa Wife," says Joe Blow), — somehow they're going to overthrow Capital and the State and reorganise the World. Bonanno's means: "sabotage, attempts at self-management, destruction of work, etc."

It reminds me of LSD-guru Timothy Leary in the 1960s. The system is evil, he said, and must be destroyed. "Hundreds of millions will have to die," but in the end a sane world will exist on my hippy commune in the California mountains.

G. Jewell,



Le Mouvement Anarchiste en France, Jean Maitron, Maspero, Paris, 1975, 2 vols (486 & 440 pp.), £12.00.

This is a serious and well-documented work which, despite the memoirs of Kropotkin and Jean Grave, describes situations and indicates texts which are no longer known to the militant. In addition, Maitron has studied police files which adds to his work the possibility of comparing anarchist and anti-anarchist sources.

However, in spite of his goodwill, Maitron does not go beyond the perspective of a university professor in pursuit of the theme which allowed him to thrive (his original work appeared in 1955). This becomes obvious after only the second page of text on which he acknowledges the assistance of three "big fish" in the field of academic investigation and also for "some chapters certain participants in the anarchist movement". Not even James Joll in his silly book *The Anarchists* or Hugh Thomas in the first edition of his *The Spanish Civil War* makes this aristocratic distinction between diploma-laden and everyday run-of-the-mill militant sources.

The first section concerning the origins of anarchism is weak because it underestimates the importance of Kropotkin's *The Great Revolution* (pp. 27/28). He pays hardly any attention to the Paris Commune (nine lines on pp. 54/55) nor to the ideological consequences. However, Jules Valles's memoirs show that in many aspects the Commune was very similar to May '68 in Paris with its spontaneity, happiness, barricades, committee struggles, etc. But, as Maitron believes that May '68 was in no way libertarian, simply a spirit of revolt, it is understandable that this criterion should be drastically restrictive (vol. 2, p. 134). The one thing the author has overlooked is the anti-authoritarian concept of anarchism and of May '68 which helped the ideological encounter with anti-leninist currents of thought such as council communism and situationism of whom there is not even one word.

It is the same lack of grasp on the reality of the situation which prevents Maitron understanding that the expulsion of the Bakuninists from the Hague Congress of 1872 was by individ-

ual votes and *not* by delegates and number of affiliates (p.65).

One of the few qualities the work possesses is the description of anarchist violence during the last century, with its parallel of spontaneous explosions among the workers: "Bande Noir" from the north of the Massif Central in 1882 (similar to the 'Mano Negra' in Andalusia, but Maitron always remains within the geographic limits of his country), the assassination of the cruel overseer Watrin in Decazeville in 1886. At the same time the anarchist press called very firmly for violence, for the revolution, before and in opposition to any immediate demands. And, from 1892 to 1894, at the height of the public governmental scandals, there was the wave of *attentats* carried out by Vaillant, Ravachol, Caserio, and Emile Henry.

In addition, Maitron shows very clearly the transition from the tactic of *attentats* to syndicalism with Pelloutier's *Bourses* and the propaganda of Kropotkin and Pouget. Through the quotes used by Maitron one can see quite plainly how anarcho-syndicalism — in spite of all its affirmations as to the impossibility of bureaucratisation, due to the concept of revocability (p. 272) — arrived at a purely leninist position: The union organisation "only recognises *real men, workers*, who join together in the defence of their material and moral interests (. . .) As we only have real men, workers who do not have all the same qualities nor the same action, a necessary differentiation is created among them. The more conscious, the ones who are more capable of professional defence and the social struggle tend to group together, indicating the road to take to the others who follow after." (Lagardelle, 1911, p. 314). Up to this point it is not serious, but what the anarcho-syndicalists don't see — nor Maitron either, and in this case he is not unusual — is what Pouget expressed somewhat cynically: "Each time a group is created in which the conscious ones are in contact (with each other) one should not take into account the apathy of the masses. It is lamentable enough that the non-conscious ones refuse to use their rights, and furthermore, one would have to grant them the strange privilege of acting as a brake on the proclamation and the realisation of the sway of the conscious ones." (*Les bases du syndicalisme*, 1904.)

Another aspect which doesn't appear is the demagogy of the Charter of Amiens of 1906 which passes for a declaration of anarcho-syndicalist faith when it was a conference manoeuvre that satisfied the reformists ("a raising of the standard of wellbeing of the workers by the realisation of immediate improvements"), the politicians ("complete liberty for the union member to participate, outside the corporate group, in the forms of struggle corresponding to his/her philosophical outlook") and anarcho-syndicalists ("with the general strike as means of action"). Of course, outside its context the Charter could have its own logic.

But the proof that it was purely and simply a circumstantial declaration is that in spite of the Malatesta — Monatte polemic, anarcho-syndicalism was incapable of counting on the rank-and-file, for which reason the reformists were able to capture control with relative ease. It is a shame that Maitron takes no interest at all in this evolution. For a serious study of French anarcho-syndicalism one should consult *Capitalisme—Syndicalisme: meme combat* by Corale, Spartacus, 1974.

Maitron's habitual inability to understand anarchism jumps to the eye in the chapter "The dispersion of the tendencies. A: The anarchists and the question of the population; B: the anarchists and education, (. . .)" Evidently, an author-

itarian cannot understand that there can be various tactics at the same time. And in spite of what Maitron writes in 1972-74 he is incapable of recognising the ecology which anarchism has preached since the time of Kropotkin (p. 380).

The second volume offers the same agreeable and insipid sauce, such as the French movement and the Spanish Civil War and later (sic) the Russian Revolution. On the other hand, anarcho-syndicalism is very badly treated: three and a half lines on page 166 on *Le monde nouveau*, which awoke so much interest in Spain during the years 1931-36. And we won't mention Pataud and Pouget's *Comment nous ferons la revolution?*, which is classed as a "novel" (p. 165).

The present day groups are presented very briefly and in an extremely questionable manner. There is an extravagant chapter on the anarchist press in order to measure the impact of the movement, but without taking into consideration the circulations of the papers and, thanks to this trick, Maitron reaches the conclusion that anarchism has lost influence.

A systematic criticism is added on May '68 — which was not libertarian — to a chapter on organisation which ends with the statement concerning a mortal enmity between "Platformists" and others (as if anarchists would consider taking power on their own rather than acting as an example immersed within the people); a chapter on libertarian communism which goes as far as stating that the economic experiments that took place during the Spanish Revolution "have led certain comrades to doubt the spontaneous character of the harmony which has to be established the day after the revolution" (and, incidentally, with no notes to provide proof for this contention; furthermore, Kropotkin and Bakunin never affirmed any such thing in black and white terms.) "So far as the practices of self-management are concerned, they are vindicated by too many tendencies without its content being well defined, for anarchism to be able to claim it for itself alone." (p. 170) Why does Maitron quote the magazine *Noir et Rouge* and its articles on self-management only to forget so easily afterwards?

Incidentally, again, the last chapter is "Marxism and anarchism" which is an extensive description of marxism and which ends with a quote from Bakunin in favour of the invisible dictatorship of the secret organisation. Instead of explaining that this quote comes from a period in Bakunin's life in which he believed in the immediacy of the revolution and therefore allowed himself to go against his own ideas, but neither in Spain nor in the Ukraine, nor in any other part did the anarchists abandon their anti-authoritarian practices of rotation and recallability — instead of this, Maitron here lets slip an anodyne remark: "Need one comment? We have just explained — and this should be sufficient — the marxist and anarchist points of view on the revolution and its continuation." (p. 206)

I should add that the bibliography is in fact a mixture of titles and magazine articles. This way he can quote both our friends (such as Y. Bourdet, Pluet) and the anti-anarchists (such as Dubief, Duclos, Lenin and Marx).

Therefore, Maitron's work can throw some light on certain periods, but its overall orientation is to prove that anarchism (French) is disappearing and that at heart Bakunin was a Leninist.

One last disappointment. There is absent from Maitron's work any criticism of Freemasonry and its crude attempts in France — nor is there any criticism of the universities and education, and the vindication of violent action (*Noir et Rouge, Passez Outre*).

Frank Mintz



'Portugal: The Impossible Revolution?'
Solidarity, London, Phil Mailer, £2.25.

Solidarity is a curious splinter group of ex-Trots who have become libertarians. They have a good reputation for their pamphlet publications, particularly the translations of Paul Cardan's attempts to relate libertarian socialism to industrialised society.

Now the London group have published a first rate account by a sympathiser (but not a member) of the group, covering the events in Portugal from April 25th, 1974 to the end of November, 1976. It presents a breathless vision of the situation at a time of considerable upheaval in Portuguese life after the ending of fascism. There is a useful chronology and a glossary of the vast number of political groups.

Maurice Brinton has also provided an introduction.

The main conclusion is that a new problem of revolution has emerged: the revolutionaries. 'The revolutionaries — on a massive scale — were found to be part of the problem, not part of the solution' or as Brinton puts it: 'An alarming risk now looms on the horizon. It is the risk of genuinely radical upheavals being deviated into state capitalist channels. It is the danger that any new creation will immediately be pounced upon, penetrated, colonised, manipulated — and ultimately deformed — by hordes of power-hungry 'professional revolutionaries', midwives of state capitalism, and all the more dangerous because draped in a red flag.'

Certainly the experience of Phil Mailer sends one back to the basics of revolution: the liberation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves.

Jerry Westall.



Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution, Jose Peirats, Solidarity Books, Toronto, 1977, 400pp, illustrated, £2.35.

Peirats is known as the author of *La C.N.T. en la revolucion espanola* in three volumes (1952; republished 1972), which is essential reading on the social history of modern Spain. In 1961,

Peirats contributed a series of articles to the Italian review *Volonta* which were collected in the book *Breve Storia del sindacalismo spagnolo* in 1962. These articles were used again for a Spanish edition in Argentina in 1964, with slight modifications, and this edition — recently published in Spain — is now available in English.

So Spanish and English readers have the same text with which to become acquainted not only with the history and problems of anarchist Spain, but also with the history and problems of modern Spain.

Forty years of Francoism have obliterated the past and today it is necessary to explain everything to Spaniards. Moreover, although Peirats large history is available in Spain, its price and its great number of pages make preferable a cheaper and clearer presentation, which is in fact a summary of the larger work, a digest very well done and also a true history of Spanish anarchism from 1868.

The presentation adds depth and perspective to all the events, and although since 1962 there have been a lot of studies on many aspects of modern Spain and anarchism, this book remains accurate. For example, the three chapters on self-management which deal with industry, the poverty and backwardness of the rural areas and self-managed agriculture. Ministerial collaboration and the quite curious transformation of the F.A.I. into a political party are presented without demagogery. Every page is useful, crammed with material.

Compared with Richards' *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution*, the range is greater in Peirats, who begins in 1868 and ends with the sixties (a page on September 1976). There is the same critique of deviations; Peirats is not so sharp but he produces more evidence. Richards interprets more while Peirats detects a greater division in the attitudes of the rank-and-file to the leaders. Both books are good and deserve to be read and compared.

What I appreciate specially is the description of the reconstitution of the C.N.T. in 1931 after nine years underground, because it compares to the actual situation today: dissension in some unions (pp. 75, 76). The epilogue is admirable for its lucidity and self criticism: nothing was to be hoped from the exile and the last page is a salute to the new generations who are the backbone of the Spanish movement, although an important minority of the exiles have achieved much or sacrificed themselves — like Sabate and Facerias — for the sake of Spanish anarchism.

I myself would have emphasised more the period 1919-1923, to show that capitalism was frightened by the Revolution and that the coup of 1923 was the logical consequence of the repression managed by the Catalan bosses, just as in 1922 Mussolini took over the state to avoid a new occupation of the factories. The military importance of the C.N.T. does not appear, and we now have Cipriano Mera's memoirs and Bolton's chapters on the Iron Column (no Curtain as p. 359) which gives many examples. But the book is very interesting and the translation (specially p. 358) is more concise than the original.

Frank Mintz

The Spanish Civil War, Hugh Thomas, Pelican, 1976, £3.50 (1115pp).

If obliged to answer directly and brutally the question "Is Hugh Thomas's book worth reading?" I should say "Alas, yes!" because it's a mine of information. So saying, I don't want to appear anti-Hugh Thomas on principle,

for the reasons given by Vernon Richards: 'plagiarist,' 'not serious' *Anarchy*, No 5, 1961, 'the most cynical book on the Civil War that I have read' *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution*, p.220, basing his assertions on comparisons between Thomas, Burnett Bolloten and Gerald Brenan.

Obviously, unlike these authors, Thomas wants to give a global, total account of the Civil War without dogmatism: "So in my book I sought to avoid polemics, to state the facts as far as I could, with such serenity as I could muster, and, so far as possible, avoiding recriminations" (p.xvi). Compared with the 1961 edition "The result is undoubtedly a new book" (p.xviii). "I now think that the anarchists' ideas for the regeneration of society were more original, provided they were put into effect in a mixed society, than I thought in 1960" (p.xviii). "I also hope the reader will find that the economic and social side of the war has been treated better . . ." (p.xix).

For all these reasons I shall focus here on Thomas's study itself, while stating clearly that Chomsky's article — in fact a booklet — against Jackson's *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War in American Power and the New Mandarins* will be mainly my position.

First of all I have to criticise my own and almost all books written on Spain because they are the contributions of one person and the range, the complexity of the Civil War obliges in fact to collective writing. And Thomas's aim of giving life to the whole war is evidently impossible. Thomas may blind, dazzle the reader with information on politics, leading figures, parties, economics, armies, battlefields; in fact by his individual method he is condemned to be superficial in some — and many — aspects, despite the great volume of pages so easily reached in a book of this sort. (For example, Broue and Temime's global story is 542 pages with print a little bigger than Thomas's; Peirats' *La CNT en la Revolucion Espanola*, three volumes, is 1178; the CP's *Guerra y Revolucion*, three volumes, is 895; a commercial edition from Geneva, *La Guerre d'Espagne*, three volumes, is about 740; and lastly Luis Romero's evocation of the first three days of war is 640).

Jokes and Flattery

I shall divide my remarks — making some slight comparisons with the Spanish version of the 1961 edition — between on the one hand a first reading and impression (of course it will be necessary to check every aspect, but my particular field of interest relates only to self-management during the Civil War) and on the other the anarchist movement as seen by Thomas.

What annoys me is the oddity of the criteria: the first page — with the pretence of literary style — focuses on the parliament, and all the first chapter, ending with "Will there be a revolution?" and "Could it be war?" (p.11), is in deep contradiction to the eleven following chapters which prove that the burden, the fate of social exploitation could only end with a violent confrontation, so that political life was only the tip of the iceberg the base of which was the people and anarchism.

This pressure, however, of people and anarchism, scarcely appears because as in the first edition Thomas presents a huge, vast volume of information but seems to dodge all synthesis about social problems. On the contrary, he emphasises with elephantine lightness that for him francoism and the republican side are the same: for violence, for foreign intervention, for economic organisation.

If this were a truly international point of view, it would be pleasant: new hierarchy and demagoguery on both sides; the use of jingoism to produce cannon fodder for Franco, ^{III} Caballero or Negrin, and, indeed, Churchill: how Germans, Italians and Russians were testing new war materials as did the British in Palestine and the Soviet Union and the USA in Vietnam. But in 98% of cases Thomas remains on the level of a detective novel with a joke, some gossip and the supposed goofy tendencies of some Spaniard or group of Spaniards. In fact Thomas made and makes a hit because he understands that an easy description of the Spanish Civil War with a neutral "liberal" position will be read by all political tendencies and non-specialists. At the same time he flatters readers by limiting his focus on Spain: so they may think "We are lucky not to have all that," as if there were no clear trends towards racism and governmental violence in Great Britain – not to mention the Western and Eastern blocs . . .

Treatment of Anarchism

For all these reasons it is interesting to see how Thomas deals with anarchism. The earliest mentions, as in the 1961 edition, are quite superficial and based on Brennan though without quoting him (pp.16, 19, 23) – as Richards showed then; elsewhere Thomas gives abundant information, but so scattered and so devoid of any depth that the picture is far from clear.

Thus, the misery, difficulties and starvation of the working class, either in industry or in agriculture, are presented (pp.23, 42, 80, 334, besides almost a whole new chapter, p.186); and that misery, over the centuries explains the explosion of violence into immediate revolution. Against the Catholic clergy the hatred was all the greater because of all the hypocrisy. Why did anarchists in Barcelona open the graves in monasteries and convents? Because in them lay the corpses of pregnant women, of babies (not to mention the pornographic novels found in monks' cells). Again, it is certain that the slaughter of francoists in the republican zone was in revenge for the slaughter by francoists of their opponents in the occupied zone; many anarchists protested and protected, however, as Thomas more or less admits (pp.277, 298).

It is quite amazing that there are more pages on violence than there are on self management. And on violence while there are the usual tremendous stories which are accurate there are also some errors, such as calling Garcia Lorca "the greatest Spanish poet of the time": he was not – think of Felipe Leon, Cernuda, Guillen, Machado; so such as to end one paragraph (p.279) with the presumed liquidation of prisoners by anarchists and, two pages later, to end the chapter on violence with the execution of a general by francoists with the words "[He] knew how to die like a Spaniard. Many did." (p.281). Thus anarchists appear as sadists and Spaniards as heroes – special, extravagant people, since all these problems could not have occurred at home . . .

Another interesting point is the observation that Largo Caballero, leader of the socialists and the socialist trade unions, "had agreed to collaborate (even if briefly) with the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera as 'councillor of state'" (p.40). But that "briefly" was from October 1924 to the end of 1926 i.e. some two years. Also, Thomas points out the influence of Mussolini of francoism. Why does he not go deeper and see that at the beginning fascism

attracted socialists like those in Italy (D'Aragona) and Spain because it was a way to nationalisation and co-management such as exists now in Germany and is in preparation in Britain. That was why the anarchists did not trust the socialists and why the socialist Prieto was ready to make a pact with Franco just like all the other bourgeois republicans.

The absence of ideological problematics from the book makes difficult the understanding of two basic elements at the start of the war: gold and weapons. For anarchists, self management was at one and the same time the possession of the means of production and the possibility of transforming normal industry into munitions factories; the gold of the central bank was essential to buy arms or machinery to produce arms. For republicans, on the contrary, there was always an opportunity to make a pact with Franco in order to prevent what was the main goal, the revolution; so the gold had to be kept intact.

Finally, the republicans were so clever they gave it all to the Soviet Union to pay for future shipment of war materials!

Thomas's study neglects some important books on the Civil War, for example Fernanda Romeu on the economic background (1970); Cruells for the militias and Mallorca (1974 and 1971); Siemenov, Vietrov for Russia (1969, 1972). In the bibliography the worst neglect is that of English anarchist books: Richard's re-edition of 1972, Christie's translation of Tellez's *Sabate* (1974). Also, Dolgoff's *Anarchist Collectives*, Gomez Casas, and Souchy are all listed in alphabetical order, but not with anarchist books.

Of course, all is not so confused; the biggest improvement is on self-management. Also it is obvious that Thomas has made a real effort to update his study and has framed it stronger.

For instance, "had the government distributed arms, and ordered the civil governors to do so too, thus using the working class to defend the republic at the earliest opportunity, the rising might have been crushed." (p.220). And Thomas justifies this assertion by quoting the "indefatigable German historian of the anarchist movement, Max Nettlau": "Where a measure of autonomy existed . . . the people could and did get arms at the right time. Where autonomy did not exist, little or nothing could be done and the enemy thus – and only thus – gained a temporary advantage." (p.220).

Thomas therefore knows to evolve, sometimes. On the CP, its recruitment of non-communists and bourgeois is well presented (pp.522, 523, 646), as is Togliatti (pp.650, 658, 709) who, I maintain, was one of those responsible for Berneri's murder. Thomas omits the quotation from *Pravda* of December 1936 about Trotskyites because it wasn't true. However, he maintains his impression of strong communist forces at the defence of Madrid; although he lists Mera's memoirs he seems not to have read them (about Mera, the note on p.788 from a francoist is quite stupid) and so his account of the battle of Guadalajara is incomplete.

Anarchist actions during the war are split into two by Thomas, one kind obtuse and hateful, the other somewhat tolerant and self-critical (more or less like Jekyll and Hyde).

Self-Management

On self-management, Thomas gives first a general survey which, as usual, ends badly: "Anarchist theory had not envisaged a situation in which they would gain power in some factories, but not destroy the state or their political opponents" (p.296). This is an

interesting sentence, because many anarchists of reformist tendency said the same during the war (Montseny in September 1936, M.R. Vazquez in April 1937, etc). But a bearded granddaddy called Bakunin wrote in 1870 (*Letter to a Frenchman*) on a situation very similar to Spain in 1936 not to mention Malatesta's anarchist programme of 1920.

What is more painful is when Thomas says seriously that the question arose of turning a lipstick factory over to arms production and that "the anarchists of Catalonia improvised" (p.297). Firstly, as Thomas demonstrates, Spain had possessed the impetus towards revolution for many years and, secondly, in many cases the anarchists had a plan and knew what to do, while thirdly, and much more important, the workers were taking initiatives. In many cases, Thomas says "anarchists" when he dislikes one thing and "workers" when he points out a global idea; so do the trotskysts, as *Black Flag* pointed out on F. Morrow (March 1976, p. 14).

Chapter 32 "The land – agrarian collectives – did they work?" is a very interesting example of Thomas's conception of writing. It is a summary of a study first published in 1966 and reprinted in Carr's book on Spain (1971). From 18 pages it has gone to 13 and instead of an internal study of the varieties of management we now have less material and the insertion of the testimony of a communist – Lister – who was charged with destroying the Aragon collectives (pp. 723 – 5). And so the reader is led to take the communist vision of the failure of the collectives.

Wages in some collectives are presented but without it being said that the figures are of several and different times and different provinces. No interpretation is given. It is affirmed as evident that collective sending of food did not reach the front and were "wasted," (p. 564), but why are the united exports of oranges, lemons, etc., by anarchist and socialist trade unions not mentioned? Yet they were the main source of money for the republican state. The chapter ends with the opinion of Horacio Prieto criticising the merger of shops, but why not mention that Prieto was against self-management and spontaneity before and during the war? The question about rich collectives and poorer ones, and whether they would have practised solidarity, is pointless, because there was in general a great solidarity within and between the provinces. The final attack on J. Ascaso may be accounted to communist influence on Thomas and lacks proof. Nevertheless Thomas admits "it is evident that they [the collectives] articulated the enthusiasm of many poor, but dedicated, men and women." (p.565).

The presentation of the Iron Column (quoted from Bolloten) is very meagre. An effort is made for the May days of 1937 with a personal interpretation about the spontaneity of the fighting: "the communists could have taken more trouble, and taken more men from the front, if they had planned a coup in Barcelona." (p.655). In fact, such an argument does not stand up to the evidence that only where there were communists were there clashes, as Cruells has demonstrated.

The book ends with a quote from the bourgeois Azana on "Peace, Pity and Pardon," and Fatherland, of course. It is a pity that exploitation and class struggle keep on in Spain and all the world making Spain only a stage in the vast Civil War between privileged people and their slaves – inside or outside the society of consumption.

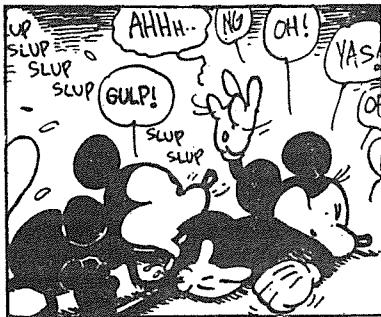
Frank Mintz.



The Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book, Compiled by Albert Meltzer, Cartoons by Phil Ruff, £1.00 (+ 9p p+p).

A veritable mine of useless information, a gusher of North Sea sedition, the only book in the world to provide the answers to such questions as where is the smallest police station in London? What was Anatole France's view of the role of the Pope after the revolution? What is the connection between tea-drinking and secularism? Where were anarchists blamed for an earthquake? On what occasion did Bakunin go to church? What were Bradlaugh boots? How did Marlene Dietrich upset Hermann Goering? Who were Two-Gun Cohen and 'Sugar-Baby'? Who was Wagner's Siegfried based on? Where did selling your wife at the market constitute divorce?, and who embodied the link between Trotskyism and cricket? Now you will never know the answers (well, not all of them, even if you have been around a long time) unless you buy the *Anarcho-Quiz Book*, a Simian Publication from Over The Water, Sanday, Orkney, KW17 2BL, £1.00 plus 9p postage. Well-printed, visually attractive with amusing cartoons by Phil Ruff.

Geoff Charlton.



Catching Them Young 1: Sex, Race and Class in Children's Fiction.
Catching Them Young 2: Political Ideas in Children's Fiction, Bob Dixon, Pluto Press.
 Each volume £1.80 paperback, £4.50 hardback.

Everyone who wishes to see a free society must be concerned about the influences to which our children are subjected as they grow up in an authoritarian and exploitative society.

Bob Dixon has produced a scholarly study of the warped view of the world presented in many children's books. However, his book does not develop beyond a piece of radical literary criticism, sometimes tediously laboured but often thought-provoking. There is no

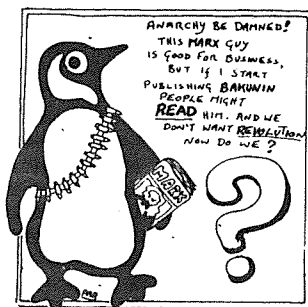
serious attempt to place the literary critique in a wider perspective of the various influences on children: their experience of relationships at home, at school and in the community; and the relative influence of books and television. (For instance, I'm sure Biggles doesn't stand a chance against TV's Bionic Man or Woman!) Although Dixon makes fleeting references to sociological and psychological studies in order to give authority to some of his assertions, he exhibits a writer's confidence in the power of the pen – whether to maintain the status quo or to change society. Although he is aware of the importance of other influences, and the psychological processes which make some people more susceptible to manipulation, he leaves consideration of these vital questions to others.

The book comes in 2 volumes. Volume 1 is subtitled *Sex, Race and Class in Children's Fiction* and is the more significant of the 2 volumes. It is the one I would recommend for anyone without time to read both.

The chapter on racial prejudice expressed in children's books is by far the best part of the book – and also the most worrying. Enid Blyton who has dominated Children's books for over thirty years has produced some of the most dangerous racist propaganda. In 1970, two years after her death, the magazine *Books* estimated her English language sales totalled seventy-five million. Dixon puts his finger on Blyton's mental outlook when he says it is based on fear – "fear of what is different or unusual, a fear of the non-conformist and the unconventional, a fear of anything that's new and threatens change." Blyton has written in such a way as to transform childhood fears of such things as darkness and strangers into fear of black people by connecting them in the minds of children. The potential psychological damage is obvious.

One of the saddest effects of racial prejudice is the rejection by black children of their own identity. Dixon mentions the results of a sociological study carried out with black children in America in 1947. Basically, the children were presented with black and white dolls and asked various questions to reveal their attitude to colour. The majority of children expressed a preference for the white doll. Furthermore, 59% of these children stated that the black doll "looks bad" while only 17% stated that the white doll "looks bad." This is only part of the sad story of self-denigration by black children. In case anyone thinks that this was peculiar to America thirty years ago, Dixon reports that a similar study was recently carried out in Britain with Asian and West Indian children with similar sad results.

In the chapter on class ideas in children's books, Dixon shows how they have traditionally given a middle-class view of the world with working-class people appearing as mere supporting characters, or as figures to be ridiculed or feared. In the last nine years the *Nippers* and *Little Nippers* series of early reading books



edited by Leila Berg have attempted to show working-class people realistically in working-class surroundings. With ninety-five titles in print and over two and a quarter million sold they present a readily available alternative.

In the chapter on sexism Dixon shows how children's books define narrow sex-roles for girls and boys. He comments on the common impression gained by very young girls that they could only be nurses, not doctors. He quotes from *The Psychology of Sex Differences* which mentions a four-year-old girl who insisted that girls could only be nurses and boys doctors, in spite of the fact that her mother was a doctor! Unfortunately, Dixon does not give further details. On the face of it, it certainly seems to challenge the view (which I share) that this misconception simply springs from the fact that the vast majority of doctors seen by young girls are men; young children are often dogmatic about generalising from particular experiences and observations. The relative importance of the influence of books compared with a child's perception of what he or she observes of roles and values in society is still highly debatable.

Dixon advances the view that young girls are inclined to make progress in reading – and are more imaginative – because they are frustrated in their physical activity. As I have spent my life avoiding unnecessary physical exercise and conscription to sport I find this quite amazing! He obviously shares the authoritarian's mystical faith in the efficacy of "healthy exercise."

Generally, Dixon accepts the shortcomings of aspects of contemporary feminism and uncritically. Freud, who admittedly deserves criticism on many scores, is denounced for daring to suggest that there might possibly be innate psychological differences between most men and women, accepting the obvious variations within the same sex. Dixon seeks to demolish Freud with one poke at his "penis envy" and then feels free to ignore what many men and women have to say about their different psychological fears and desires. He also asserts, with the confidence of a man, that the maternal instinct is a myth – despite the fact that many revolutionary women have recognised it, have taken satisfaction in it, and have been inspired by it.

Volume 2 is subtitled *Political Ideas in Children's Fiction* and includes chapters on comics, imperialism and religion. It contains some rather obscure and dated references but this is inevitable because part of the intention of this volume is to give an historical account of the development of reactionary political ideas in children's books.

I found the chapter on comics most interesting in Volume 2, if only because of the vast circulation they receive. *Valiant* published by IPC has a circulation of half a million and Dixon reports that World War 2 is still raging in its columns with "British pigdogs" and "krauts" going strong. In other comics "law and order" propaganda is very common.

Perhaps Dixon's demand for working-class culture to be reflected in comics is intended as mere rhetoric, but does he really expect capitalist publishers to run comic strips about the Tolpuddle Martyrs, the Luddites and the Tupamaros? Yes, he actually suggests this! Dixon goes to great lengths to defend the medium of the comic as an art form, but I find it crudely emotive and easy-game for manipulation.

In his critique of some comic heroes such as the Lone Ranger and Superman (both easy targets) Dixon reveals his own politics quite

clearly. The Lone Ranger suffers from "individualism . . . a fundamental strand of capitalism." Surely modern techno-bureaucratic capitalism needs an ideology of dependence and conformity not "individualism"? Dixon approvingly quotes another writer who states that "instead of teaching obedience to law, Superman glorifies the 'right' to take the law into his own hands." Thus Superman is a proven fascist. It seems to me that in this simplistic view Dixon completely misunderstands the appeal of the super-human, individualistic hero to children who are made painfully aware of their weakness and dependence by hostile adults. Generally, Dixon seems unwilling to accept that children are capable of taking what they want from books, regardless of the author's intentions.

Although Bob Dixon has written a book which is essentially (and deliberately) a work of literary criticism, it is a useful contribution to the wider debate about how we can create an environment in which children can grow up free from fear and prejudice.

Terry Phillips.



THE PROTESTANTS OF ULSTER by Geoffrey Bell. (Pluto Press, £2).

The decision by Pluto Press to release Geoffrey Bell's book so close on the heels of their previous production, *Northern Ireland, the Orange State* by Michael Farrell, is hard to understand. Much of the copy in *The Protestants of Ulster* is a rehash of material contained in numerous books dealing with the Irish problem, including Farrell's. Mr Bell, himself an 'Ulster' Protestant, goes over old ground without ever making a conscious effort to analyse the underlying reasons why the Protestant working class cling to the right wing Conservatism embodied in the Unionist spectrum.

As a handy reference book for the student of Irish politics Geoffrey Bell's work can be recommended, as a serious contribution to the literary efforts of the past seven years it cannot. Much of the book is of 'scissors and paste' format with numerous references to existing publications. The extent to which the author relies on notes can be gauged from the fact that acknowledgement is made to a staggering 220 references, at the rear of the book. Considering that the entire work, including preamble, index and references comes to a mere 160 pages of 11 point type the author's bottlegging is hardly justified.

Taken solely as a reference book one can gain a measure of satisfaction from the work. Bell has laid his bevy of facts concerning the evolution of Protestant sectarianism in 'Ulster' in an easy to read manner. Ten chapters, with sectarianism in 'Ulster' in an easy to read manner. Ten chapters, with Vaudevillian headings like: "Oh God Our Help In Ages Past" are devoted to the varying and mystifying aspects of Loyalist life. A chapter on 'Ancient Privileges'

contains some interesting tables which are taken from a number of sources including British Parliamentary Papers. Comparisons of weekly wage rates between areas in England and Belfast show that the Irish worker employed in the building trade came rock bottom in the earnings scale . . . a situation which prevails today.

The complete failure of Geoffrey Bell to recognise the realities behind the child-like attitude of the Ulster Protestant to cling to Britannia's tattered petticoat is evident in his dismissal of the May 1974 Loyalist putsch with four sentences. The 'strike', which toppled the Northern Ireland Executive, headed by the late, unlamented Brian Faulkner, was masterminded by the Protestant bourgeois who felt threatened by the unholy alliance of Faulkner's Unionist Party and the Social Democratic and Labour Party which was comprised of the Catholic middle class. Although the front men for the 'strike' committee were, on the face of it, from the Loyalist working class the manipulators were politicians and businessmen worried that the Executives' commitment to a 'Council of Ireland' would have adverse effects on an already fragile economy. Almost every mass action by the Protestant people has been instigated by big business. Geoffrey Bell glosses over the '74 putsch as: Protestants told to share power; Protestants go on strike. Efforts to break strike fail; Executive collapses.

While *The Protestants of Ulster* fails to get to the heart of the problems facing the Unionist masses, and the accompanying problems which beset the Nationalist population, the last paragraph of the Bell book is worth quoting. Commenting on the words of Sir William Spencer: "I am not an Ulsterman but yesterday . . . as I followed their amazing attack on the Somme I felt I would rather be an Ulsterman than anything else in the world!": the author says:

"The words are quoted with pride, they are woven into Orange banners, the Orange Order distributes a booklet entitled 'Rather Be An Ulsterman'. Such is the tragedy of the ordinary Ulster Protestant, if Ulster be the adjective they prefer. They quote the words not with anger at the senseless carnage, at the way they were sacrificed so that well-fed, high living Englishmen could enjoy themselves for a few more years. They are not bitter at the slaughter of their own people in one of the most pointless military battles the world had ever seen, a battle judged necessary at the time by those not of their class, not of their country. They are not angry, they are not bitter, they do not protest; they are proud.

That is their tragedy."



"Bakunin on Violence: letter to S. Nechayev" Come, Unity Press, 30p.

The publication in pamphlet form of this letter from Bakunin to Nechayev, written in Locarno Switzerland 2nd June 1870, is a very welcome event; though "Bakunin on Violence" is not really what it is about at all.

Bakunin wrote it near the end of his revolutionary career, with his relations with Nechayev at a low ebb, strained by financial problems and understandable fatigue, and in the midst of his struggle against the scheming of Marx and Utin on one side and the internal debate with Nechayev over the character and aims of their existing and envisaged underground groups inside Russia. It has been wrongly, and one suspects purposely, constructed as a denunciation by Bakunin of Nechayev's "violence". Sadly a barrier to real discussion on revolutionary ends and means which persists today blown up out of all proportion. The publishing co-operative who have produced the letter in pamphlet format betray their pacifist (and dishonest) bias not only by their curious choice of title, but by reproducing a short quote from Bakunin inside the back cover which, taken out of context, conveys the exact opposite of what its author explains in the text:



"For myself I cannot tolerate either brigandage or thieving, nor any other anti-human violence."

But in the text Bakunin continues immediately by saying "But I confess, if I had to choose between the brigandage and thieving of those occupying the throne and enjoying all privileges, and popular thieving and brigandage, I would, without hesitation, take the side of the latter. I find it natural, necessary, and even, in some sense, legal . . . I am on the side of popular brigandage and see in it one of the most essential tools for the future people's revolution in Russia." (p.20).

Not exactly what the publishers would like to come out of Bakunin's mouth perhaps, but it is, nonetheless.

Most of the pamphlet in fact deals with the far more important debate over the aims of the revolution, the relationship of revolutionaries to the people, their role in the struggle (before during and after the hoped for victory) and the form of underground organisations best suited to those ends. Nowhere does Bakunin disagree with Nechayev's basic idea that some sort of clandestine group is required.

"I was convinced that even if you were few, you represent a serious undertaking, the only serious revolutionary movement in Russia." (Bakunin p.6.)

What really forms the basis of the Bakunin/ Nechayev debate was two differing concepts of the internal structure of the underground revolutionary movement inside Russia - which by virtue of the severe Tsarist repression (and in the process distorted by Nechayev's enemies) by the personal rift between the two men, brought on by Nechayev's rather over zealous fund-raising activities and his ham-fisted treatment of Marx concerning Bakunin's translation of "Das Kapital" into Russian. Given the social conditions in Russia then (and more so today) there was no other realistic means by which the revolutionary movement could organise other than in secret cells. On this Bakunin and Nechayev never differed.

Unfortunately because of the break in personal relations, followed by Nechayev's imprisonment and death during which he displayed exceptional personal courage and revolutionary integrity, their debate on the question of clandestine organisation was never finally resolved. And no one suffered more as

result than Nechayev himself, whom ever since has become one of the most little understood and unjustly slandered of all Russian revolutionists.

The surviving documentation from this exchange of views (chiefly Nechayev's "Catechism of the Revolutionary" and Bakunin's later correspondence, of which the pamphlet under review here is an illuminating fragment) warrants a closer and more open-minded scrutiny than received so far from the anarchist movement. There is much in both documents which still holds good today as a general guide to carrying on the struggle. The present version of Bakunin's letter would have been better served by a more accurate title – "Bakunin on Revolutionary Organisation," or "Ends and Means of the Revolutionary," for example – and a decent introduction making some attempt to treat the contents honestly, with the purpose of examining what Bakunin actually said rather than what his pacifist editors wished he would have said.

Without doubt Bakunin would have poured more scorn than I on those who delude themselves that open 'non-resistance' brings results. His editors are entitled to believe what they wish; but the text they present here tells it differently:

"He who wishes to retain his ideal and virginal purity should stay in the study and dream, think, write discourses or poetry. He who wants to be a real revolutionary in Russia must take off his gloves; no gloves will save him from the deep and all-embracing Russian mud. The Russian world, both privileged state and popular, is a terrible world. A Russian revolution will certainly be a terrible revolution. Whoever is frightened of horrors or dirt should turn away from this world and this revolution. He who wants to serve the latter must know what he is facing, must strengthen his nerves, and be prepared for anything." (Bakunin p.21).

Henry Black.



The Science and Politics of IQ by Kamin. Penguin, 1977, 95p.

"Patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels . . . (we) might consider that heritability is the first."

The concept of IQ has become so all pervasive in the Western World over the last century, that its application has probably affected us all at one time or another during our lives. Few will, for example, deny the importance of the 10+ and 11+ examinations in determining the future lives of millions of children. Those examinations were little more than IQ tests dressed up in academic masquerade. The concept taken in a wider sense, as a part of an increasing "rationality" forced upon us in this society of ours, has played a large part in determining the social climate under which we live, and the "common sense" of many generations. IQ is a term which possesses a clear and well defined meaning for millions of people, and its common usage implies a belief in a reality which is beyond question (i.e. scientific reality). It is, after all, quite natural that working class children

should fail at school, fall foul of the law etc., – they are innately, socially and intellectually thick (yes?). Further, as Kamin says, "The underprivileged are demonstrated to be ineducable, a message as soothing to the public purse as to the public conscience." It is then of vital importance that we have at least a cursory understanding of the nature, history and implications of IQ and IQism.

Perhaps the most vehement and at the same time noxious protagonists of IQism discussed by Kamin are those two heroic figures of most right wing social philosophers, Jensen and Herrnstein (curiously enough, Kamin makes no acknowledgement of Eysenck's existence – perhaps the best attitude to strike in that particular case). It is noticeable at once how neatly IQism provides scientific legitimization for both these "scientists"



socio-political views – Jensen with his belief in the innate supremacy of the white race and the West European in particular, and Herrnstein with his aspirations toward a strict and rigid caste system, based solely upon one's IQ and evolving through encouraged high grade inbreeding and "discouraged" inbreeding (i.e. sterilisation) of low grades. Such differences apart, however, what these two bastions of our intellectual integrity hold in common not only with themselves but also with all who advocate the scientific/social legitimacy of IQism, is a belief, in essence, that the poor are poor, the underprivileged underprivileged etc., because they are intellectually incompetent, and that this incompetence is particularly intractable as it is rooted in the genetic structure inherited from poor and intellectually incompetent parents. Thus, the existence of such a natural, intractable and fixed limit on intellectual possibilities, transmitted intergenerationally, provides us with a picture – and a neat one at that – of the reproduction of the class system.

Such theories do not, however, represent any radically new direction in, or divergence from the science of psychology itself. IQism has nothing if not a long, contentious and totally unsavoury history. The practice of positing "rational" scientific explanations for what are essentially social phenomena is as old as Western science itself. Thus, we find in the mid to late 19th century, an intellectual climate characterised by a desire to understand the plight of the flotsam and jetsam of a laissez-faire capitalist economy, not in terms of that situation, but rather by means of studying the individual isolated from his environment (e.g. physiological measurement to determine the criminal "type". With the development of the IQ test by Binet in 1905 (i.e. a method of determining absolutely any individual's intellectual capacity), IQism took off with a vengeance; and thus began a correspondingly rapid and intractable decline from

what level of scientific integrity it may have had at its genesis, to a theory clearly enmeshed with, and inseparable from its protagonists' politics. It is clear, for example, that the main advocates of IQism in the U.S.A. earlier this century, Yerkes, Goddard and Terman, were well aware not only of the theory's manifest cultural content, but were more than happy at even its most heinous and overtly oppressive political applications, for example a law passed by the Iowa legislature, providing for "the prevention of the procreation of criminals, rapists, idiots, feeble-minded, imbeciles, lunatics, drunkards, drug fiends, epileptics, syphilitics, moral and sexual perverts, and diseased and degenerate persons" – just about everyone except the legislature itself apparently. Sir Keith Joseph is not alone with his proposed "discouragement" of the procreation of socio-economic groups 4 and 5.

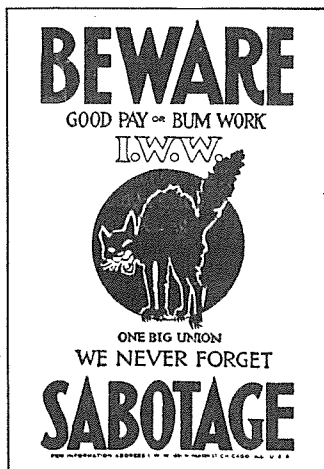
The relationship IQism has enjoyed with overt (and covert) establishment political activity is amply exemplified in Kamin's chapter covering "Psychology and the Immigrant." Here, we can see the enthusiasm with which the U.S. legislature embraced the new science, creating a situation where that discipline was little more and no less than a legitimization of otherwise totally unacceptable immigration policy; proving to the great American public that all immigrants were less intelligent than they; whilst simultaneously warning of decline in moral/intellectual standards as a result. In short, as an instrument of oppression – overtly scientific, but covertly political. Francis Kinnicutt of the Immigration Restriction League, testifying before the U.S. Senate Committee on Immigration, in February 1923, stated that he desired "to further restrict immigration from southern and eastern Europe . . . (since) the evidence is abundant that . . . it is largely of a very low degree of intelligence . . . some of their labour unions are amongst the most radical in the country."

But Kamin's evidence damns deeper. Tracing through 150 pages of statistical manipulation, we are shown convincingly what we all knew, suspected or hoped already – the unscientificity of a self-professed unbiased and uncommitted scientific study. The bodies of statistics relied upon by people such as Jensen do not, it seems, demonstrate any convincing relationship supporting either a genetic or hereditary theory of IQ. This, even ignoring the blatant cultural content of both the IQ tests and IQism itself, is remarkable, given the degree to which both are held up to the world as scientific "facts" or "entities." The history of IQism is a history of misconception, the manipulation of data of at best dubious scientific merit, and the use of such resultant theories as blatant scientific oppression. Even if we accept the existence of a measurable IQ (and few would accept even that), then we cannot accept either the genetic or hereditary traits attributed to it. It is science (and not true science at that) meddling in purely cultural phenomena whilst pretending to be non or a-cultural.

On a more critical note, however, the book suffers greatly from its title. No single volume, however large, by any single author, can ever cover the science and politics of IQ. This said, then, goes some way to excusing Kamin for failing to make explicit certain aspects of his study; which, once so rendered, show that there is a great deal more to the subject than discussed in his book. (For example, the relationship between IQ and ideology, or the relationship between science

and politics generally, of which the IQ debate is but a part). The book is at best a brief summary of a hot and tiresome, but nonetheless important debate, which blew up in the mid sixties after the apparent failure of the environmentalist oriented "compensatory" education programmes in the U.S.A., and which crops up in (if it doesn't actually fill) the pages of American education journals. It is at its best when Kamin tears himself away from tedious but necessary statistical mystification. This said, however, *The Science and Politics of IQ* is both readable and informative — not an easy combination for a book dealing with such an involved and complex subject.

Icarus.



Sabotage: a study in industrial conflict, by Geoff Brown. Spokesman Books 1977, £8.50.

When I first left school I went to work in the local plastics factory. It was an intimidating experience having to work at a pace dictated constantly by a machine. I can still visualise the huge grey-painted machines that towered either side of me as I attempted to keep pace with the 20,000 plastic beer-bottle separators a day that it produced. It wasn't the noisiest place I've worked in, but everybody needed to shout to be heard.

My job entailed breaking a small spigot from the separators that was left by the injection moulding process. I had to break the spigot, examine for "short-ending" (where the plastic has not quite filled the mould), hang to cool, count and box for 8 hours a day. The pace was fast and the job required a certain amount of concentration that ruled out any chance of day-dreaming. The sheer bulk of the machines and the constant noise (the machines worked 24 hours a day, non-stop) meant that I never saw anyone and couldn't break for a chat.

One day my machine developed a fault. It stopped, I stopped, and one of the engineer came over had a few words, and put the machine right. I quickly realised that every time the machine went wrong someone came over and broke the monotony, and it wasn't long before I was experimenting with some of the buttons on the machine in an attempt to duplicate a fault. The best way, to get the machine to break, however, turned out to be a quick flick of the wrist, which sent the separator back up the machine hopper, to be caught in the closing mould.

Production on my machine fell, but I was a lot happier, especially as the Time and Motion people couldn't find out why the machines I worked were slower than any of

the others. They even used to break down mysteriously while I was being carefully watched. Life is tough in T & M . . .

It wasn't that my political consciousness was high, what I did was purely an individual revolt against unreasonable working conditions. I was pissed-off (Marxist term "alienated") and it was the only way to do something about it.

Several years later I picked up a copy of *Solidarity* (or was it one of their pamphlets?), and in spite of being alienated by the language in some of the articles a piece on sabotage caught my eye, and I could relate it to my own life. Sabotage as a whole philosophical and theoretical system was opened up in front of my very eyes — I saw the light!! Seriously, I'd never been on strike, and most of my revolts against authority (even at school) had been individual efforts, noteworthy only in their consistent failure. I'd never been able to relate to the Trot papers and talk about striking, 'cos like most people I'd never been on strike. Skiving, however, truancy from school, and fiddling the time clock — we've all done that. (Haven't fiddled the time clock? well, briefly, here's how: automatic time clocks stamp the card, and cut a piece out of the side of the card. Next time you stamp the card, it goes in slightly further (because of the piece cut out). By pushing the card in hard on one occasion, but only lightly next time round, and so on, varying as necessary, the times get over-stamped. If you are late, by a few minutes, no-one can tell from your card, and you can get it signed by the foreman (and he's always late to show his status of not having to stamp in, and consequently doesn't know you were late) while cursing the uselessness of modern technology.)

I'm still interested in the whole idea of sabotage, both as a conscious weapon in the struggle for better pay and conditions at work, and as an act of instinctive rebellion against work itself. Especially as the complexity of modern industry, its technology and bureaucracy render it increasingly vulnerable.

So, a couple of years ago when I noticed in a Spokesman booklist that Geoff Brown was writing a book about *Sabotage* I paid my 85p in advance, and waited for its promised publication a couple of months later. The book took a lot longer to prepare than intended and during that time its impact has been partially sabotaged by a price increase of 1,000% which is a pity. This is a book which needs to be widely read and discussed, because its implications for the development of a revolutionary strategy challenge the foundations of Leninist orthodoxy.

Geoff Brown is a tutor in the Dept. of Adult Education at the University of Nottingham, and has made an important contribution to the current revival of interest in syndicalism and its tactics. He has contributed introductions to the Spokesman reprints of *The Industrial Syndicalist* (1910-1912) and *The Syndicalist* (1912-1914), and is currently engaged on writing a biography of Tom Mann.

Geoff's book traces the history of sabotage back to Emile Pouget although the origins of sabotage as an industrial and social weapon go back beyond the Ludéites. Pouget, a French anarchist, was impressed by the successful use of "ca'canny" in the Glasgow dock strike of 1889 after traditional strike tactics had failed. He wrote a short book advocating sabotage:

"... sabotage is in the social war what guerrilla warfare is in national wars, it flows

from the same feelings, responds to the same necessities and has identical consequences in workers' minds.

"We know to what extent guerrilla warfare develops individual courage, daring and decisiveness — the same can be said for sabotage: it keeps the workers going, it prevents them from getting bogged down in a pernicious flabbiness, and as it necessitates permanent and ceaseless action, it had the happy result of developing the spirit of initiative, of accustoming the working class to self-activity, and of stimulating combativity."

In America the idea of sabotage spread rapidly, and Arturo Giovannitti, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World translated Pouget's booklet. (Giovannitti was thrown into prison in an attempt to break the 1912 textile workers strike in Lawrence, USA) describing sabotage in the introduction as "any conscious or wilful act on the part of one or more workers intended to slacken and reduce the output of production . . ." This translation was rapidly followed by Walker C. Smith's *Sabotage: its history, philosophy, and function* (published in this issue of the Review). Two years later Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, another wobbly, wrote *Sabotage: the conscious withdrawal of the workers' industrial efficiency*, but this was withdrawn from publication by the IWW because of some concern that it encouraged the smashing of machinery and the burning of grain in the harvest fields.

Nevertheless, the IWW remained firm advocates and practitioners of sabotage in industrial disputes, and Wobbly locals around Los Angeles began to publish a semi-official weekly paper called *The Wooden Shoe*, a reference to the origins of the word "sabotage", which is derived from the French "sabot" wooden shoe.

If sabotage developed in one way as a tactic to be used in the struggle for higher wages and better conditions, it also became increasingly used to combat speed-ups and higher productivity, even in the 19th century. It became an individual challenge to a discipline that was irksome and being increasingly imposed by the nature of the technology itself.

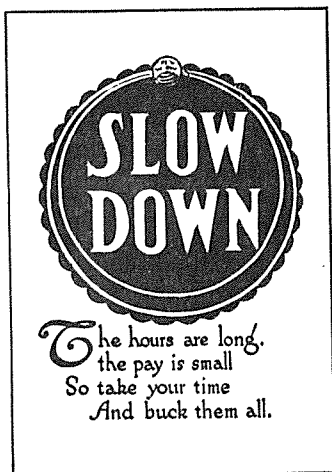
This opposition was not confined to the 'capitalist' countries such as Britain and the USA, but also developed in response to similar conditions in the USSR, where the idea of Stakhanovism was assiduously fostered by the state, and opposed by the workers. (Stakhanov was a creep who cut 102 tons of coal a shift instead of the normal 7 tons, by using a more rigorous division of labour). Trade union papers in Russia reported "The wrecking and breaking of machines is the favourite method of struggle against the Stakhanov movement." Since the riots in 1976 in Poland, many factories have seen production drastically reduced by workers' use of go-slow tactics.

Britain also has an honourable tradition of sabotage. "Ca'canny" (go slow) was widely practised, and a number of I.W.W. influenced papers carried articles on the nature and principles of sabotage. These papers, included the wobbles own *Industrial Worker* (its title borrowed from an official IWW paper in the USA) and the Industrial Democracy League's *Solidarity*, named after the paper of the militant Chicago branch. The advice in these papers ranged from exhortations for waiters to put oil in soup, to an anonymous article advocating "open-mouthed" sabotage: the exposure of shoddy goods and the leaking of

manufacturers' secrets.

This tradition has continued right up to the present day and Geoff Brown describes how in 1962, a member of the Solidarity group "working at Ford's Dagenham plant was fined £100 for writing a pamphlet advocating sabotage as a legitimate weapon in the class struggle in the factory. He continues: "Apparently an 'experimental speed up' at Dagenham on the day of the trial led to production losses on account of 'accidental mechanical breakdowns'." More recently we have seen an increasing number of stay-in strikes and factory occupations, and last year saw the successful conclusion to a newspaper strike at the Express plant, when workers simply removed some vital clips from plate-making machinery.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica reports the colourful incident in France when some barbers are alleged to have shaved the whole head of customers who demanded attention after hours. While amusing in themselves, and interesting to see the inventiveness that saboteurs have employed, such descriptions



perhaps tend to conceal the qualitative change in the use of sabotage, because while it is still a tactic used to fight redundancies, speed-ups and to gain pay rises, it has now become increasingly used against work itself.

As technology has changed, so has the nature of the class struggle, and over the last few years, a considerable number of books about "the revolt against work" have been published, and as a result a truly libertarian theory about industrial and class struggle is evolving. It is a theory which reflects the complex nature of these struggles, which attempts to explain the way in which even the most apparently radical demands can be subverted by the system which uses them for its own ends. It is also a theory which refutes the simplistic ideological class analysis of the traditional left.

Although the revolt against work isn't something that Geoff Brown has gone into in any real depth, this book contains a substantial amount of material on which to continue building a theory around this concept. Like all good theories it is one which draws its ideas from the every day practice of working people, and it is constantly being tested and revised in action.

The importance of sabotage as a tactic in this revolt, is that it returns the power during mass action to the shop floor and to the individual, giving each one a measure of control over the struggle in which she or he is engaged. As such, it is a weapon of revolution.

Paul Wilson.

Economic Genocide in Chile. Monetarist theory versus humanity, Andre Gunder Frank, Spokesman Books, 95p.

I really wanted to read Geoff Brown's new book *Sabotage*, but at £8.95 I couldn't afford it, so I chose this substitute. It is written in the form of two open letters to Arnold Harberger and Milton Friedman who are among the foremost theorists of currently fashionable "monetarist" economics. Andre Gunder Frank is amply qualified to write such critical letters, as not only is he a brilliant marxist economist who worked in Allende's Chile, but he is a former pupil of Harberger and Friedman.

Strangely, Milton Friedman has gained the reputation of being a libertarian, and has taken to prophesying (in magazines such as *Encounter*) that the only alternative to dictatorship is monetarist economic policy. Of course, Friedman is not a libertarian in any sense of the word. He is an advocate of laissez faire economics and 'the encroachment of the market into every sphere of life. He makes no attempt to challenge the power and the authority of the state — in fact his ideas rely to a crucial extent upon the repressive nature of the state.

The Chicago 'school' to which both Friedman and Harberger belong, has had a growing influence in recent years, and in reading Frank's book I was struck by the similarity of the proposals now being put into effect in Chile, Brazil and Argentina, with those of the British government. Andre Frank provides a convincing, well-argued case demonstrating that the monetarist theories of the Chicago school (eagerly adopted by Keith Joseph and other Tory party hacks) merely provide a legitimising ideology for large scale repression.

A few years ago Frank wrote an important and pioneering pamphlet, systematically demonstrating the role played by modern sociological theories of economic development in perpetuating the unequal distribution of power and wealth throughout the world (see *Sociology of Development*, Pluto Press, 1971, 20p). Here his incisive mind does an effective demolition job of monetarist economics which is useful because if genuine libertarianism is ever to prevail (i.e. anarchism) then the pseudo libertarians need knocking on the head first.

I now look forward to the time when Andre Frank's sincere belief in social justice leads him to an understanding of how marxism, in the guise of a liberating ideology, has provided the rationale and justification for the enslavement of entire nations. He may then undertake a critique of state socialist neo-imperialism which is every bit as devastating as this appeal for humanity in the face of barbarism.

Paul Wilson

Self-Management. Economic Liberation of Man, edited by Jaroslav Vanek, Penguin, London, 1975, 479 pp., £2.00.

If we compare this publication, which is written from a capitalist point of view, with that of the Trotskyist Ernest Mandel, *Contrôle ouvrier, Conseil ouvrier, Autogestion*, we find the same adoration for hierarchy and the same attitude to anarchist vision and experiments.

Vanek's study ignores almost wholly the revolutionary concept of the violent seizure of the means of production and his treatment, although good in parts, is generally superficial — even from a classical economic viewpoint. But more difficult to accept is his personal vision of self-management "carried out through an efficient system of delegation of authority" (p. 14): — if revocation and rotation are not emphasised automatically follows the creation of a class of leaders — and "the equalisation of income per

worker (of equal skill, of course) among industrial branches" (p. 35), so that in Vanek's interpretation of self-management, an engineer at Ford's will maybe earn the same amount as one in mining or in banking.

A last point on Vanek's lack of seriousness: he says "the Czechoslovakian case was not given time to develop enough for us to be able to categorise it exactly now, but there can be little doubt from the spirit of the reforms that it would have come somewhere under our category, that is, self-management" (pp. 25, 26). We agree with Vanek; and Spain 1936-1939? Is not it a longer and more profound example of the brief year of experience granted from the top in Czechoslovakia? (See the French review *Autogestion*, 1970, No. 11, p. 6)

The article on marxism and self-management fails to present the Soviet, Yugoslav and Chinese positions in their polemics on the Yugoslav case (for this see the good study by the French anarchist group "Noir et Rouge" and the analysis of Spain, Yugoslavia and Algeria: *Autogestion, Etat et Revolution*).

On Yugoslavia, nobody points out the variations of laws along the years and the need of the State to control the excessive freedom of collectives or to stimulate — with apparent privileges — the low output.

Big news: "Catholic church and workers' participation": I supposed the author was to describe the gunning down of self-management in Spain during the civil war. Not at all: on the contrary, not a word on the francoist repression of workers' rights, but an article on the falange-controlled case of Mondragon: *Spain's Oasis of Democracy*, a city made famous — or infamous — by the assassinations of Basque ETA militants.

G.D. Garson gives an interesting study on "Recent developments in workers' participation in Europe", but what has it to do with self-management? Another example of the editor's confused outlook. Garson shows that co-management in Germany was not created by laws in 1951, but was "tied to Allied efforts to restructure German industrial power" (p. 164). So in the same period, 1948-1950, a marxist system under Tito and a capitalist system in Germany gave more phoney rights to workers in order to bring about a considerable rise in output. German co-management is copied increasingly in Norway and Denmark.

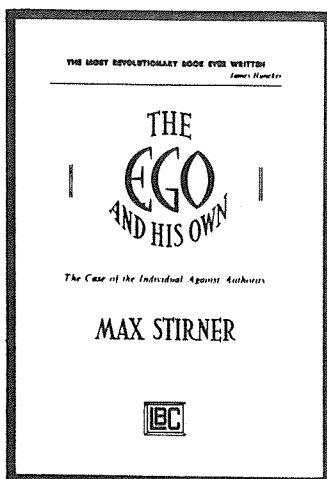
Two other examples of the absurd are a study on the development of eastern and western countries, which is useless because all statistics on the East are falsified, and a study by P. Blumberg on participation which concludes on prisons: "... those... (with) the idea of inmate self-government tend to believe it worthwhile... It creates a situation where staff and inmates are conceived as part of a co-operative unit" (p. 337).

However, a clear study of Israel tells us that the "average kibbutz has a population of 400" with a total close to 100,000 in 1970, that is 3.6% of Jewish population (of course, there are no Arab kibbutzim). Compared with Spain, it is on a very small scale.

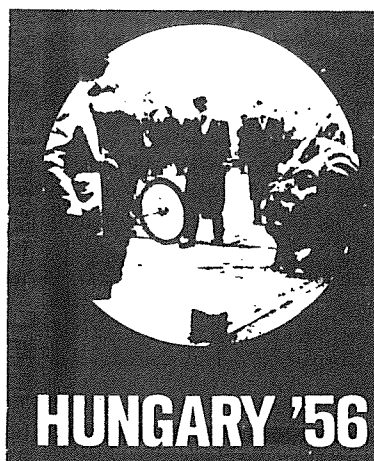
A clear observation by J.C. Bellas on the U.S., which we apply to all cases: in a production co-operative "when owners are interested in maximisation of worker income at the expense of profit or company survival as a co-operative is impossible." "Under their current methods of operation, the key of longevity appears to be in their ability to reach peak operating efficiency while rejecting over expansion." (pp. 211, 212).

The book ends with a very technical chapter on economics with mathematics and graphs, but no mention of strikes, crises or revolutions, wars, or above all, workers' attitudes.

Frank Mintz



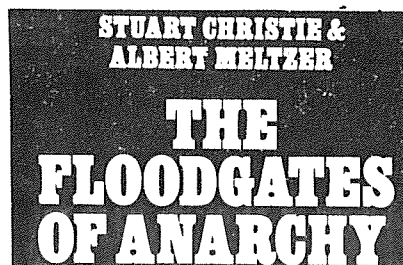
The Ego & His Own, Max Stirner, 388pp, h/b £3.75 (+ 35p p+p).



Hungary '56, Andy Anderson, Black & Red, 137 pp, £1.00 (+ 25p p+p)



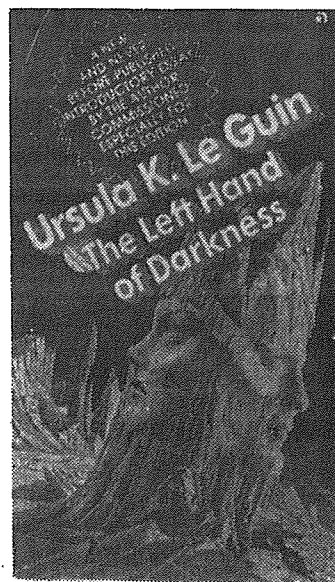
Homage to Catalonia, George Orwell, Penguin, 246pp, 70p (+ 25p p+p).



The Floodgates of Anarchy, Albert Meltzer & Stuart Christie, 160pp, h/b £1.30, p/b 50p (+ 25p p+p) – few copies left!
"Extremely important and interesting exposition of anarchist theory" – Sunday Times
A lucid examination of anarchist theory and practice by anarchists active in the revolutionary struggle, this is a book that defines not only libertarian thought but helps clarify the whole contemporary scene by the hard light it throws upon politics.



The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement: A study of the origins and development of the revolutionary anarchist movement in Europe 1945-73 with particular reference to the First of May Group and the Angry Brigade, ed. A. Meltzer, £1.35.



The Left Hand of Darkness, Ursula LeGuin, 334pp, 60p (+ 25p p+p).
An exciting science fiction story calling contemporary socio sexual roles into question.

Shorts



HOW IT ALL BEGAN, Bommi Baumann, Pulp Press, Vancouver, 136 pp, illustrated, £2.35.

A personal account of the rise of the West German New Left and urban guerrilla movement. This book was seized by German security police when it first appeared in 1975. The resulting trial caused an international outcry. The English version will be available in October, 1977, through the Cienfuegos Press Bookservice and will be reviewed next issue.

On Organisation, Jacques Camatte, 25p

An English translation of an article first published in 1972 under the title *De l'organisation* in the French journal *Invariance* (Annee V, serie II, no 2). The rather precise, almost semantic use of words tends to conceal the very interesting contribution to the theory of libertarian communist organisation that Camatte has to make. It's also a pity that so much of his writing has been backed by theoretical extracts from people like Marx, rather than by examples drawn from an application of ideas to practice. Nevertheless, well worth reading. Available from Beni Memorial Library, POB 609, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, USA.

The Kronstadt Uprising of 1921, Lynne Thornycroft.

Interesting 20-page pamphlet that places Kronstadt in its historical context and clearly examines the issues that the ruthless suppression of the rebellion raise. "Avrich suggests that the tragedy of Kronstadt is that one can sympathise with the rebels and yet justify the Communists' suppression of them. I suggest that the real tragedy is just that: from Kronstadt to Berlin, to Budapest and Prague, tyranny has been justified as somehow progressive."

Left Books Pamphlet No.1. (50p)

The ARM statement is a "draft theses for principles of unity," originally circulated in draft xerox form for over a year by the Left Bank Collective, before appearing in this printed pamphlet, which incorporates the criticisms and corrections people suggested after reading the original draft.

"Organisationally, we believe that the best form for the present is autonomous small affinity groups and collectives freely communicating with and supporting each other. This seems to give the best chance for initiative and growth, and experimentation, as well as the best defence against repression and infiltration. Gradually, with experience and as the struggle develops, closer working relations based on equality and mutual respect will develop between these groups.

"We believe that both above-ground and underground forms of struggle are needed. In general, we favour forms of direct action of poor and oppressed people that have a liberating effect, both objectively and psychologically; that open up possibilities of initiative and freedom, personal growth and independence from the system; that lead to solidarity and mutual support and increased self-confidence among the oppressed – that is, the large

majority of us."

Left Bank Pamphlet No.2 (30p) ARM c/o Left Bank Books, 96 Pike Street, Seattle, WA 98101, USA.

The Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts: report from Scotland, Margaret Marshall and Chris Aldred.

This report grew out of the intention to write a short article about the workings of the recent Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts. Research into the situation "confirmed our most pessimistic predictions," so seven months were spent preparing and writing the report.

The body of this report deals with the decisions of the Industrial Tribunals "in other words, how far (if at all) the *process of law* has brought women any nearer equality with men." Margaret and Chris have produced a detailed well argued study, which is useful, not only for the statistics and analysis, but because of the case studies that are included, together with an account of the proceedings of one Tribunal, and a short guide on "Getting your rights: a guide to using the law" which briefly describes the step by step measures required to take a case before a tribunal and win.

45p Aberdeen People's Press, 163 King Street, Aberdeen. (Please add 15p postage).

Towards a new revolutionary socialist organisation: a draft manifesto for discussion.

On page 2 of this manifesto from Big Flame are neatly letra-setted the words "outline of a proposal to revolutionaries and working class vanguards," a phrase which neatly encapsulates Big Flame's political schizophrenia. Still, the pamphlet itself contains some original thinking, (not least of which is the keeping of the price down to 25p by not stapling the pages together — or was it the ultimate manifesto for a group that wants to be all things to all people — give 'em the pages and let them put it together how they like?) Big Flame show an acute awareness of key problems: "The challenge facing many of us in the revolutionary left is clear. Can we build an organisation that is a useful instrument in the struggle and at the same time does not manipulate its members..." Strange words for a group considering a link with the trotskyst IMG. 25p from Big Flame, 217 Wavertree Road, Liverpool 7.

Studies in Labour History is intended to be an annual publication. The first issue, published in 1976, included an article on Richard Carlile and the Infidel Library; a letter from a pioneer feminist, Anna Wheeler; a dissection of the Anatomy Act — the class nature of body-snatching in Britain during the early 19th century; and reviews. No.2 to be published at the end of 1977 is on working class structure in 19th century Britain. No.3, currently in preparation and due for publication in 1978, on feminist history. The publishers would welcome contributions for issue No.4 (1979) which its hoped will be an anarchist history.

Individual sub. per issue is 60p plus postage from John L. Noyce, PO Box 450, Brighton BN1 8GR.

Red-eye is a new theoretical journal published by a small collective of libertarian communists. The leaflet put out by the group to announce the publication says "Besides, think of the pleasure of laying your hands on a revolutionary journal that is coherent without being dogmatic, intelligent without being academic, that is well

written, well produced... and seeks your involvement." Its list of contents for issue sounds interesting and includes: a critique of the Situationist International; Capitalism swallows its tail: the new world economic order; and Some of my best friends are subjective. Should be good, and if we get a Review copy, further information in the next CP review, meanwhile for those who can't wait, its a dollar fifty per issue, from Red-eye, Box 1200, 2000 Centre Street, Berkeley, Ca. 94704, USA.

Creation and its enemies: "the revolt against work" is the title of a 64-page illustrated pamphlet of essays by John Zerzan, examining the changing nature of the Unions and the class struggle within the capitalist economy. Some of the essays were originally published in *Telos* and *The Fifth Estate*, and have been printed in pamphlet form by Black and Red, and by London Solidarity. The central essay in this pamphlet has previously appeared under the title of *Trade Unionism or Socialism*. Zerzan is an original and (sometimes) provocative thinker capable of jolting people out of established ideas, simply through the relentless force of his logic. Creation and its enemies is thoroughly readable, price \$2 from Mutualist Books, Box 1283, Rochester, New York 14603, USA.

This World We Must Leave, by Jacques Camatte, provokes mixed feelings when read, because it is theory for theoreticians, and as such it needs a grasp of a specialist language. For example, on page 4 of the pamphlet: "The presuppositions for the autonomisation of form are: ... 2. The loss of substance, i.e. the quantum of labour in each commodity capital tends to fall continuously (devalorisation). Hence the contradiction between valorisation and devalorisation which we have frequently analysed."

In fact, the language tends to conceal an interesting philosophical argument that "our world is dominated, conquered by historical materialism; progress is conceived of as the development of the productive forces. Even those who do not profess this theory are impregnated by it. For them it is like a minimum point of reference with reality, for them it would always be true in the material sphere, but on no account for the totality. One must then break with this rationality and with the world that it controls."

The pamphlet (28 pages) is unpriced, but 30p plus postage ought to swing it, available from Dave Brown (who did a fine job on a difficult translation) BM-381, London WC1V 6XX.

The Houseworker's Handbook, by Betsy Warrior and Lisa Leghorn is a penetrating libertarian analysis of the role of women, and their status. Any revolution must be about changing the relationships, (not just between the individual and the productive forces, or between the individual and institutions of power,) between ourselves, as individuals. The Handbook does a pretty effective demolition job on the attitudes of many campaigners for wages for housework, at the same time as arguing that "a wage has become a necessary condition of physical and psychic survival for women". The 109 pages include many funny and stimulating cartoons. (\$1.50)

Working on Wife Abuse, by Betsy Warrior, is a directory of projects, organisations and individuals concerned with wife abuse, giving descriptions of established shelters, work on shelters in progress, printed research studies, counseling centres, and persons and events

relating to the law. Mainly on the USA, but there is a section on abroad. 111 large pages for \$3.

Wifebeating, by Betsy Warrior, examines the way in which many traditional attitudes to wife-beating insure the continuation of the problem. 25-page pamphlet, (40p) excerpts from the Houseworkers Handbook.

All available from Betsy Warrior, 46 Pleasant Street, Cambridge, Ma, 02139, USA.

Anarcho-feminism: two statements from Siren and Black Rose. A short pamphlet containing 'Who we are: an anarcho-feminist manifesto' and 'Blood of the flower: an anarcho-feminist statement'. This is a reprint of an American SRAF pamphlet, but (unfortunately) without the graphics of the original. (12p plus post). **Feminism as Anarchism** by Lynne Farron, slightly longer and a little more sociological than 'Anarcho-feminism', (20p plus post). **Anarchism — the feminist connection**, by Peggy Kornegger, a reprint of a long article from the American feminist magazine *Second Wave* this is a clear and lucid pamphlet detailing the connections between anarchism and feminism, as the title implies. It's a pity that it costs 50p, because it can be recommended to all.

These three from Black Bear, c/o 76, Peckham Road, London SE5.

META describes itself as a forum for left wing analysis and discussion on the Ukrainian question, Eastern Europe and related International issues. So far there have been three numbers of this magazine in just over a year, the delay caused partly by financial and physical problems associated with production and distribution. These problems involved a lot of work, but the results have been worthwhile, in that the paper is being circulated much more widely, and has improved in content.

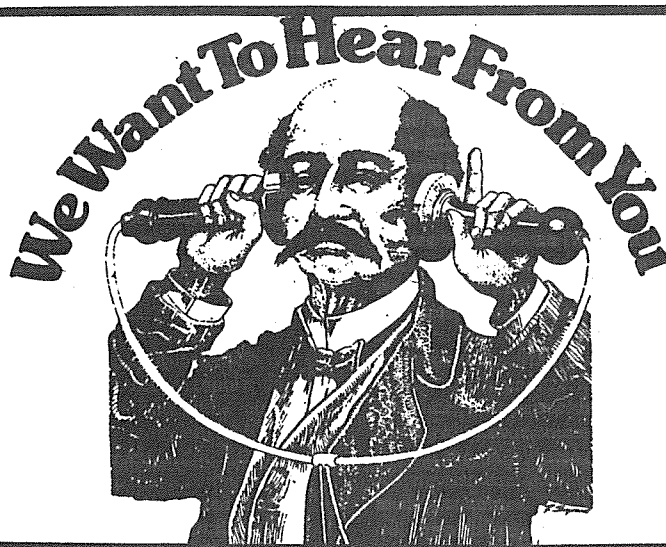
The most recent issue is Vol. 1, nos 3-4, which contains a detailed statement from the production collective, outlining the things that they've been through during the last 12 months. There is also an interview with Nicholas Krasso, dissident Hungarian marxist, who was forced into exile after the crushing of the Hungarian revolution in 1956. (This interview is reprinted from *Red Weekly*). Mike Malet contributes a fourteen page article 'Makhno and his enemies.'

The "Dossier" section is in many ways the most interesting, partly because it includes an article by Polish marxist economist Edward Lipinski, who has been active in KOR (the Workers Defence Committee) and a description of recent events in Poland, but also because of an interview with a twenty-four year old worker in a car factory.

Wolf Biermann, the socialist singer-poet from East Germany, is the subject of an article that examines the implications of his expulsions from the DDR, and the restrictions and shortcomings of his politics.

The 1975 Appeal from Women of the Crimean Tartar Nation is reprinted, and there is a short article about the (British) Committee in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners. The news section at the end includes an 'obituary' of Trofim Lysenko, the scientist whose theories were adopted by Stalin with the result that "Soviet biology was stunted for decades," and an article on UFOs in the USSR. Subscription for four issues: \$8, from META, P.O. Box 324, Station P, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

[Note: International money orders should be in Canadian currency].



Dear Comrades,

Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the law.

I am most grateful for the three generally favourable reviews of *Illuminatus!* in your current issue, but I would like to reply to some of the criticisms of Albert Meltzer. Meltzer writes: "They are in earnest about their propaganda of anarcho-capitalism." Neither Shea, my co-author, nor I myself are advocates of anarcho-capitalism; Shea is a Tolstoyan anarcho-pacifist and I am an individualist-anarchist in the tradition of Stirner, Warren, Spooner and Tucker. The book itself presents a spectrum of anarchist views including the anarcho-syndicalism of Tim Moon, the Tolstoyism of Molly Moon, the Stirnerism of Simon Moon, the anarcho-capitalism of Mavis, the Taoist (passive) anarchism of the Dealy Lama, the Zen individualistic-anarchism of Hagbard Celine, etc. Meltzer traces anarcho-capitalism to F.A. Hayek, which is more or less correct, although Hayek, a limited government libertarian, is distressed that so many of his former disciples have gone on from limited government theories to the no-government theory. But since Shea's position derives from Tolstoy (and Gandhi) and mine from Josiah Warren, all of whom preceded Hayek in time and held ideas strongly different from Hayek's, all of Meltzer's criticisms of Hayek are misapplied when directed towards Shea and me. Certainly, our position is different from Meltzer's; but let him please, in the future, criticise us for our actual positions and not for those of the anarcho-capitalists.

For instance, the rejection of interest, rent and monopolistic profit, explicitly and repeatedly in *Illuminatus*, is included, among other reasons, to make crystal-clear our ideological difference from the anarcho-capitalists. If it wasn't clear to Meltzer, perhaps he should take a remedial reading course or a refresher course on economics.

Meltzer says of the philosophy of *Illuminatus* that "this theory consoles those who want to smoke pot and all the rest of it but not feel guilty about the way they bought their leisure." Damned right! If there is one central idea behind all the other mindfucks in *Illuminatus* it is the unmitigated and unashamed rejection of guilt in all forms, in all guises, in all cases. But an equally important theme is the acceptance of personal responsibility, which is not identical with guilt but the non-neurotic transcendence of guilt. This doctrine of responsibility is central to

the Laurel-Hardy "Now Look What YOU made Me Do" parable which even Meltzer admits is one of the funniest parts of the trilogy. It is also the most serious part, and if Meltzer understood it he would not wallow in guilt himself or attempt to foist guilt upon others.

When Meltzer says that Shea and I "cannot even spell correctly," let him reflect that it took five years to get *Illuminatus* into print fighting every inch of the way (and with 500 pages finally excised at the last minute leading to hurried re-write and repatching). It is, for instance, not our fault that "immanentize" is spelled correctly consistently throughout volumes I and III and is spelled incorrectly consistently throughout Volume II. Let Meltzer struggle with New York publishers for five years before judging any first novel by what the publishers do to it. I have more clout now in negotiations and take full responsibility for what goes out under my name in the future, but *Illuminatus* is the literary equivalent of a five-car highway wreck, a bare caricature of the original manuscript. Meltzer objects to our use of John Dillinger as an anarchist hero. Oh for Christ's sake, man, satire is not supposed to be reasonable. Besides, I seem to have heard somewhere of some English anarchists publishing posters praising Guy Fawkes as "the only man to enter parliament with honest motives." Such jokes perhaps do not translate well from one culture to another, but since they are satirical, they are not meant to be examined as syllogisms or as history, merely as sarcasm.

Meltzer claims that we "apparently think the working class does not exist." He doesn't seem to have noticed the working-class background of Simon Moon or the continuous running history of the IWW that is perpetually part of Simon's interior monologue. Nor does he realise that Hagbard Celine's "Snafu Principle" ("Communication is only possible between equals") means that all class systems are unworkable. This is the psychological, as distinct from economic, argument against continuing a class-structured society and has special relevance in those capitalist nations (such as the USA) where most workers have a higher standard of living than those in socialist countries. What such workers are still angry about, and can still be mobilised around, is the issue of autonomy – of decentralisation of control – which Hagbard's philosophy directly addresses. This is not to deny that in other less technologically-advanced countries workers have still the traditional

grievances of near-starvation wages and all the economic motives for fighting the class system. But Hagbard is writing specifically for the American unionised worker, who has the highest living standard in the world, and whose only motive for embracing libertarian-anarchist thought is the remaining fact that, even in affluence, the employee role degrades him or her to robohood and sub-humanity.

Despite all this carping I am very grateful for the three reviews in general and am grateful that your journal devoted so much space to our little comedy.

May the force be with you,
Robert Anton Wilson.

Meltzer replies:

The review of the book as such was, as even Bob Wilson admits, 'generally favourable.' It was a superb satire. What was the subject of criticism was the view that it 'presents a spectrum of anarchism' for that just isn't so. They tried to be fair to anarcho-anarchism but it doesn't belong in that spectrum so described. As a couple of characters spiel at great length about how their capitalism isn't the Rooseveltism New Deal bastard State Capitalism but honest to god private enterprise and all, 'and volubly try to justify the contradiction 'anarcho-capitalism' – why not 'anarcho-government?' and 'Right Wing anarchism,' it was fair to assume it was the view of the authors.

Dear Comrades,

I have just read issue no.2 of the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review and found it simply stupendous. It is, in fact, the best international anarchist publication I have seen – far superior to all the others circulating at the moment. I really must congratulate you for presenting us with this treasury which carries with it a feeling of urgency and resistance. True heroism, according to some philosophers, is not the single spontaneous gesture but hard perseverance over the years . . .

I was particularly pleased to read the article on Ursula LeGuin and her book *The Dispossessed*. For almost a year now I have been trying to convince the comrades in Spain to translate and publish the book in Castilian as I am convinced science fiction is an important doorway to anarchist ideas – a doorway we have ignored for too long . . .

Un abrazo fuerte y fraterno
Victor Garcia (editor Ruta, Caracas).

We intend to cover science fiction writers in more detail in future issues of the Review. Also, if possible, we would like to publish some short sci-fi (and other) stories from time to time. Any suggestions anyone . . . ?

Dear Comrades,

I received the *Review* just two days ago – it seemed rather long in the mails! – but it is quite an impressive journal and certainly should get a wide audience.

My main impression of the *Review* is that the second issue came a long way in overcoming my prime criticism of the first issue, namely, the impression it gave (to me) that it was primarily a reprinting of reviews appearing elsewhere. (But I now admit that this perhaps is an insignificant and primarily subjective criticism that I had.) I also have an aversion to rightist libertarians or "anarcho-capitalists". This is primarily, again, a personal and theoretical reaction since this tendency (although supposedly anti-statist) has generally supported selected conservative politicians – even running their own candidates

for political office! — also, I believe that capitalism in all its forms should become something of the past. Without having read him at all, I think, for example, that Murray Rothbard is quite simply an outstanding contemporary capitalist theoretician of the *old school* (laissez-faire, free-market, “liberal”), certainly preferable to monopoly and state capitalism, but still a system based on the motive of greed (private profit) dependent upon such things as the police and courts, if not a national government, for the protection of bourgeois property, the maintenance of the exploitation of labour, etc. But be that as it may, the right-wing libertarians (who apparently consider themselves “anarchists” — perhaps as heirs to the American individualist tradition) don’t, if only because of their ignorance, seem to be hostile to social or revolutionary anarchism. I apparently get more upset about “authoritarian” socialism than most anarchists, though the latter is no doubt a more serious threat to freedom in the revolutionary struggle if for no other reason than that the former is “reactionary” and the latter “progressive”. (After writing the above I read A.M. on the *Illuminatus!* trilogy and can see that perhaps I take the “anarcho-agorists” too seriously!)

So I should say that issue No.2 of the *Review* is in my opinion very well done and probably should be a good guide, as it stands, for future *Reviews*. I am not, despite my own attempt to make as few entry errors as possible in the Bibliography (under preparation for the *Anarchist Encyclopaedia*), a stickler for strict organisation of material, slick consistency, or near flawless printing in a *Review*, some of the things which make some journals (such as some academic ones) less rather than more attractive, therefore the negligible typographical and editorial lapses in this issue actually add to its attractiveness as a whole. Also, I should mention that my appreciation of Flavio Costantini’s work has steadily increased, and feel more now than I once did that his work is decidedly an asset to the publications which display it — I would suspect that this would be more true in Europe than in the U.S. although his work seems to have an “educative”, as well as propaganda, aspect which should be effective here. As to the possibility of becoming a quarterly, I should think that would depend a great deal upon how widely read it might be. I do think that an anarchist quarterly *Review* in English is highly desirable, something on the order of issue No. 2, with perhaps more articles (including translated articles), although, as of course you know, many “book reviews” (review - articles) are more “articles” than “reviews”. But I would think a regularly produced journal would add an enormous amount of work for some people (such as yourselves), and might detract from the publishing of books. And I don’t know about the finances but suspect it would be even more precarious than book publishing.

I’m sure I will soon be placing an order, perhaps a rather large one, and based mostly on the books I saw reviewed in *Review* No. 2.

Faternally,
Joe Shaver

We hope this issue of the Review goes some way to improving on the previous one. Just wait until you see the next one! By the way, we'll be doing a critique of the so-called "libertarian" monetarists in a future issue so keep your eyes glued to these pages (thanks for the book order!).

Dear Comrades,

The last issue of the C.P. *Review* was excellent — I’m looking forward very much to the next. I hope that it is getting circulated well. . .

. . . Looking forward particularly to the

Berneri material (issue No. 4). I’m really impressed with the way the journal and the press are operating.

Best,
Noam Chomsky

Dear Comrades,

Looking forward to reading *Land and Liberty!*. I’ve read quite a bit on the Mexican Revolution but for the most part have found the perspectives dated, narrow and factional. In that revolution I see one of the best examples of people’s natural inclination towards anarchy. It will be easy to get comments from Chicanos and, of course, you’ll also have to suffer through mine. . .

In *This Soldier Still at War* the author fabricates a close friendship with me in order to infer that his information on the SLA comes from me and is thus factual. The author follows a scheme throughout of taking minor facts and using his imagination to build romantic stories around them. The ‘Joe Remiro’ in his book bears only the slightest resemblance to me and my life. Some of the quotes are taken from pieces I’ve written while others have been completely invented by the author. The “SLA” that the author puts together isn’t any closer to being real and couldn’t be since for obvious reasons none of us have given up any facts about how it started or where it came from. And even with all this effort on the part of the author the book is still as boring as hell.

I appreciate the sincere and friendly concern that you have shown, and I keep informed through and certainly enjoy what you print.

Love & Regards,

(B66003, Represa, Ca. 95671) niro

Dear Comrades,

Greetings in struggle and with sincere love and solidarity. I’ve been meaning to write to let you know how much I appreciate all the support that you’ve given Joe, Emily, Bill and me. Wish I had some good news for you but about the best I can report is that we’re all still alive and our spirits remain unbroken. Got a letter from Stuart C. saying he heard about Joe being locked up in maximum security after a gun was found inside Folsom prison and the snitch who turned it in to the bulls, implicating Joe in a conspiracy to escape among other things. Stuart asked if I had also been affected by the gun incident — needless to say the answer is yes; I was moved from the maximum security “Adjustment Center” to Death Row which is the most repressive unit in San Quentin and where I am under 24 hours armed guard (even in my cell) among other things. Anyway, you should be getting a statement about what happened from some comrades here soon (see *Black Flag*, September ’77). Although I am only under “investigation” as of now and not charged with any involvement in the incident (after all, it did happen in Folsom while I was in San Quentin), the media has collaborated with state prison officials to manipulate Joe’s and my situation to ensure that we stay locked-up in maximum security indefinitely. At the time this incident happened, I was awaiting word on a proposed transfer to another prison and to a less restricted unit than the Adjustment Center hole I’ve been in the last two years. Unlike Joe, I have been in the hole continuously since we were captured in Jan. ’74 and this was my first chance to get out. Now the prison officials have said that Joe and I can’t be transferred to any other prison because allegedly San Quentin and Folsom are the only two prisons with enough security to ensure we don’t escape; and to make matters worse, the prison officials had the capitalist media publish a story that claimed that not only was the gun found inside Folsom going to be used to kill a number of prison guards during an escape attempt but

it was also going to be used to kill a number of prisoners who are members of a racist white gang that exists in Folsom (as well as San Quentin and most other prisons in the state). So now I am being told that I must remain in San Quentin (while Joe remains in Folsom) and that my life is in jeopardy on the SQ mainline (as is Joe’s) because of the story that was published — so surprise, surprise I will have to remain in the hole regardless of the outcome of the “investigation”. Obviously they are feeling very smug now after manipulating the incident at Folsom to give them the excuse they’ve been looking for to keep me locked up in the hole.

The California prisons are the most violently racist ones in the U.S. The prison staff’s fear and hatred of us is further enhanced by the fact that we are *white* revolutionaries whose example might influence other convicts to stop killing each other because of racial bigotry. The prison officials feel threatened by that possibility (although, honestly, I don’t think we would really have that much impact on this racial madhouse) because racial violence/fear among convicts is their main weapon for maintaining control of their concentration camps. Does this explain why they have manipulated the racist white gang into thinking Joe was going to attack them? Enough about this prison insanity —

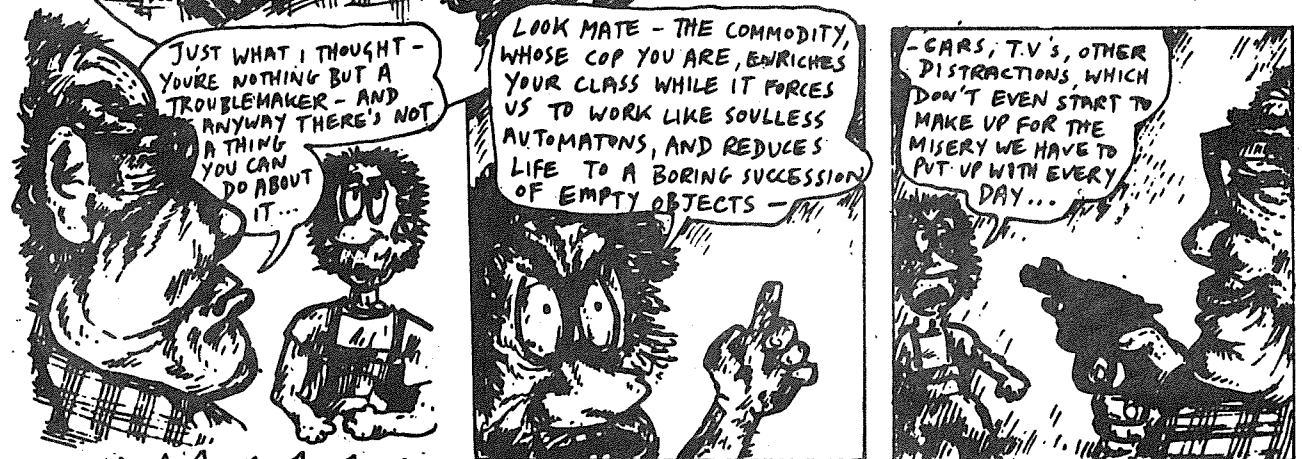
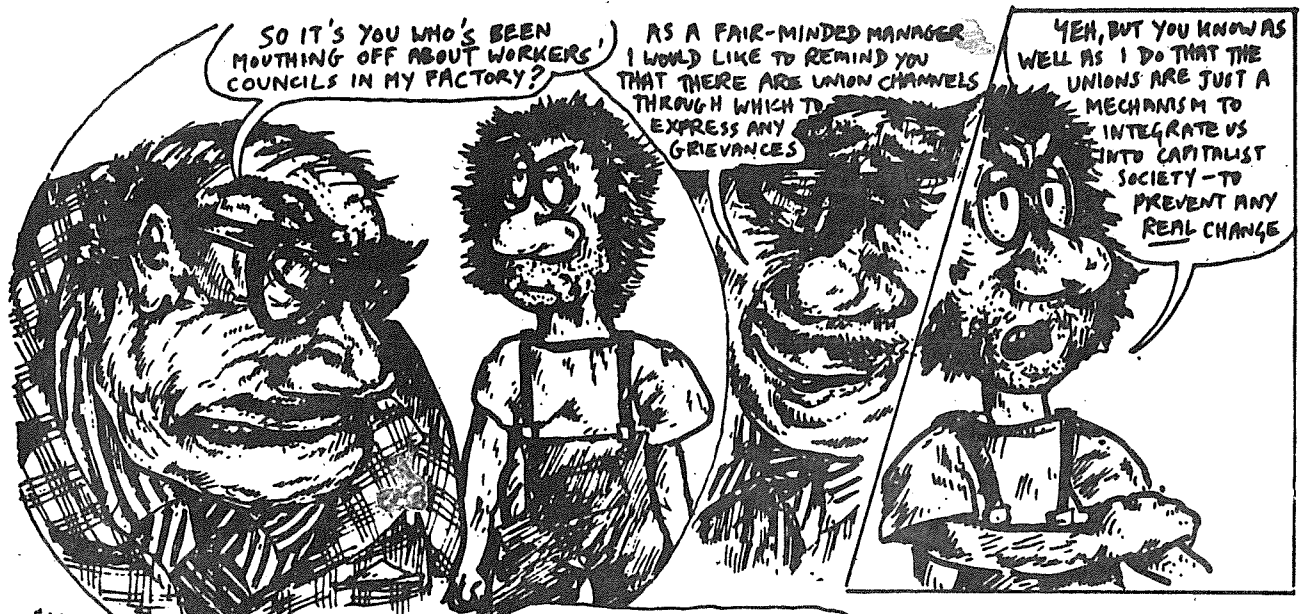
I’ve also been wanting to write to you about the review of the book *This Soldier Still at War* in the second issue of the *Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review*. The book was a sham published by a hippie opportunist — Joe did not collaborate on it and in fact knew nothing about it until after it was published. The author came to see us a few times in 1974, when everyone (almost) was busy denouncing us, posing as a sympathetic underground/alternative press editor. After a few visits and an article in his paper that we didn’t like, we told him not to come back to visit anymore. What he did was use Joe to publish his theory about what would happen when Vietnam veterans get hooked-up with black militants and members of the prison movement and drug culture — that’s the reason for all the sociological ramblings in the book. The book is totally lacking in facts about what was happening in the SLA — we never discussed any of that with him. He just took a few facts about Jim’s childhood and army experiences and a few quotes from us and created a story based on his theory. It’s funny though — Joe and I hate the book but a lot of people like it. Sad really that of all the books written, that one is the most sympathetic. Of course, look who it is that writes and publishes them. Enough ancient history —

I really appreciate getting *Black Flag* and the *Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review* — I’ve read *Sabate* and *Man!* (give Marcus Graham my love and regards) and eventually hope to have copies of all the Cienfuegos published books. Am especially interested in keeping up with the progress of the different action groups in Europe. It’s a drag that all the underground groups in the U.S. are or heavily influenced by the different brands of Leninism but at least there is a dialogue going on nowadays between anti-authoritarians and members of the underground as is mentioned in the third issue of *Open Road* in the article on the NWLF. It was Joe’s and my intention to initiate that dialogue by putting out that last SLA statement. As best as I can determine the split in the Weather Underground was nothing but a sectarian struggle for ‘party’ leadership — they still haven’t done an action in ’76 or ’77 and it wouldn’t surprise me if they never did another one.

Hope you folks are doing fine. Take care of yourselves and we’ll do the same.

(Russ Little

(B66002, San Quentin-Prison, Tamal, Ca 94964)



(The Sheffield Anarchist)

Cienfuegos Press Bookservice

Apart from most of the titles reviewed or mentioned in the *C.P. Anarchist Review* we can supply almost any title (h/b or p/b) in print in English – and we'll try our hardest to obtain titles in other languages as well. The following is only a partial list of the books we like to keep in stock. If you do not see the book you want please write in and we'll get it for you. We would like you to look on us as your local friendly anarchist bookseller. Even though we appear only as a dot on the map of the North Atlantic we are only a 9p stamp away from you (much cheaper than the tube!). Also, please remember that every book you order through us brings us that much closer to bringing out a new anarchist title!

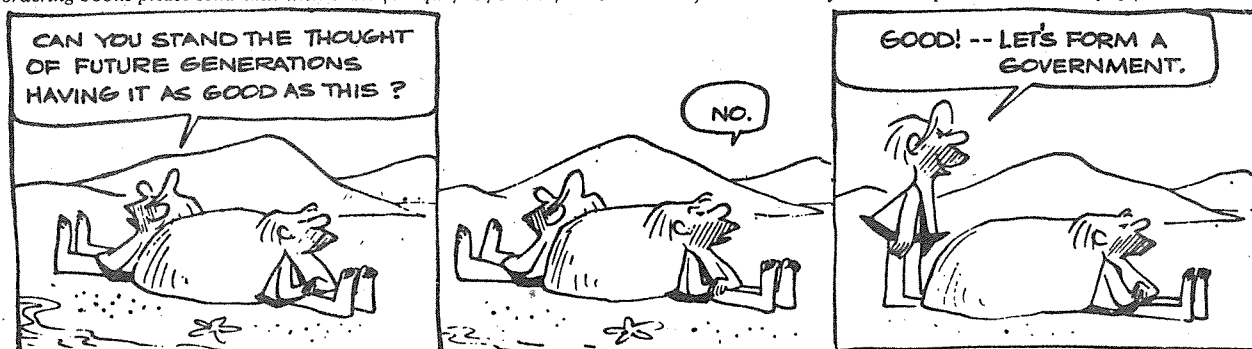
ANARCHISM AND RELATED INTEREST – The Anarchists in London, 1935-1955: A memoir of anarchist activity from the mid-thirties to the present day, Albert Meltzer, £1.00; The Russian Tragedy, Alexander Berkman, £1.50, £4.00 h/b; The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement: A study of the origin and developments of the revolutionary anarchist movement in Europe 1945-73 with particular reference to the First of May Group and the Angry Brigade, Albert Meltzer, £1.35; Man! An anthology of anarchist ideas, essays, poetry, and commentaries, (ed.) Marcus Graham, £3.25, £7.00 h/b; Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary, Antonio Tellez, £2.35 (a history of the clandestine anarchist resistance movement in Francoist Spain, 1945-60); The Floodgates of Anarchy, Christie & Meltzer, 50p, £1.30 h/b; The Wilhelmshaven Revolt: A chapter of the revolutionary movement in the German Navy 1918-19, Ernst Schneider (Icarus), 45p; Peter Kropotkin: His Federalist Ideas, Camillo Berneri, 30p; Marxism and a Free Society, Marcus Graham, 20p (an anarchist reply to Isaac Deutscher's address on "Socialist Man" with particular reference to the Minutes of the First International and the sabotaging of the Hague Congress by the Marx clique); The Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book, (ed.) Albert Meltzer, 95p (over 200 questions on the highways and byways of anarchism); The Unknown Revolution, Vol. 1, £3.25; History of the Makhnovist Movement, Arshinoff, £2.35; The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution, Avrich, £1.35; Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, Gaston Leval, £2.00; The Anarchist Collectives, Sam Dolgoff, £2.50; Ethics, Peter Kropotkin, £3.25; The Essential Kropotkin, Capouya & Thomkins, £2.95; Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow, Kropotkin (ed. Ward), £1.95; The State: Its Historic Role, Kropotkin, 20p; Hungary '56, Anderson, £1.00; Anarchy & Order, Herbert Read, £1.50; Neither East Nor West, Marie-Louise Berneri, 50p; Bibliografia di Bakunin, Rose, £3.25; Bakunin & Nechaev, Paul Avrich, 20p; God & the State, Bakunin, 35p; Bakunin, A. Masters, £5.95; What is Property?, Proudhon, £2.50 (h/b excellent value); Proudhon, Woodcock, £2.95; Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, Berkman, £2.95; The Valpreda Papers, Pietro Valpreda, £6.00; The Origins of Modern Leftism, Gombin, 60p; A Primer of Libertarian Education, Spring, £2.50; The Politics of Obedience, de la Boetie, £1.50; Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, Rocker, 20p; Anarchy, Malatesta, 25p; A.B.C. of Anarchism, Berkman, 50p; Anarchism & the National Liberation Struggle, Bonanno, 15p; Land and Liberty! – Ricardo Flores Magon, £2.35; The Political Police in Britain, Tony Bunyan, £2.95, £4.95 h/b; The Military Industrial Complex, Lens, 85p; The Failure of the Sexual Revolution, Frankl, £2.50; The Spanish Civil War, Thomas, £3.50; The Spanish Labyrinth, Brennan, £2.40; An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, Godwin, £2.25; Rights of Man, Paine, 75p; American Power & the New Mandarins, Chomsky, 40p; Zapata & the Mexican Revolution, Womack, £1.25; Invergordon '31, Barry Duncan, £1.00; The Inevitable Revolution, Tolstoy, 30p; This Soldier Still at War, John Bryan, £4.95 (the highly sympathetic story of Joe Remiro and the S.L.A.); The Japanese Anarchists, Phil Billingsley, 30p; Handlist of Anarchist & Related Titles at the University of Stirling, Sherington, 30p; The Story of the Irish Citizen Army, O'Casey, £1.00; Civil War in West Virginia, Winthrop D. Lane, £1.20 (the story of industrial conflict in the coal mines); Merrie England, Nunquam, £1.20; The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists, Tresselt, 90p; The History Book, £3.50 (a history of the common people in cartoon format); On the Nature and Uses of Sabotage, Vebien, 45p; Castaways of Plenty, W.E. Hawkins, 90p (a parable of our times); A Dream of John Ball, William Morris, 75p; Facing the Chair, John Dos Passos, £1.20 (the Americanisation of Sacco and Vanzetti); The Ego and His Own, Max Stirner, £3.75 (h/b), etc., etc. . .

GENERAL INTEREST – Cults of Unreason, Evans, 75p (an examination of recent cults based on pseudo-scientific rationality which attempts to fit technology to religious-like beliefs such as Scientology, Flying Saucer cults, alpha-wave feedback churches and the Eastern mystical sects); The Old Straight Track, Watkins, £1.25; Earth in Upheaval, 80p; Worlds in Collision, £1.25; Ages in Chaos, 75p, Emanuel Velikovsky; The Highland Clearances, 75p, Glencoe, 90p; Culloden, 90p; Mutiny, John Prebble, £1.25; Kings Depart, Watt, £1.00; To the Finland Station, Wilson, 80p; Mass Psychology of Fascism, Wilhelm Reich, £1.00; C.I.A. Diary, P. Agee, 95p; The Lusitania, Simpson, 75p (how the British set up the sinking of the Lusitania to bring America into World War I); Seaman's Voice, George Foulser, 80p h/b (recollections of veteran syndicalist); Surrealism, Herbert Read, £1.95; The Joy of Sex and The Further Joy of Sex, Alex Comfort, £1.95 & £2.95; The Cancer Biopathy, Wilhelm Reich, £5.80 (Vol. II of The Discovery of the Orgone), etc., etc. . .

FICTION – Illuminatus! (Vols. I, II, & III (now available), Robert Shea & Robert Anton Wilson, 75p each; Traven titles: The Death Ship, 50p; March to Caobaland, 35p; The Rebellion of the Hanged, 30p; The Treasure of the Sierra Madre, 40p; Government, £2.35; The Carreta, £1.50; March to the Monteria, £2.00; General from the Jungle, £1.50; The Cotton Pickers (Der Wobblly), £2.35; The Bridge in the Jungle, 50p; The Night Visitor & other Stories, £2.35; Hermanos!, Herrick, 40p; Animal Farm, Orwell, 50p; 1984, Orwell, 50p; Homage to Catalonia, Orwell, 75p; Days of Hope, Allen, 75p; The People of the Abyss, London, £1.20; The Fixer, Bernard Malamud, 80p; The Violent Brink, Beevor, £3.50 (novel based on anarchist First of May Group); The Grapes of Wrath, Steinbeck, 95p; The Price, Newman, 60p; The Big Sleep, Chandler, 60p; Fontamara, Silone, 85p; Blitzfreeze, 60p; Reign of Hell, 65p, SS General, 65p, Assignment Gestapo, 65p, Liquidate Paris, 65p, March Battalion, 65p, Comrades of War, 65p, Wheels of Terror, 65p, The Legion of the Damned, 65p, Sven Hassel; All Quiet on the Western Front, Remarque, 50p; The Good Soldier Svejk, £1.75; The Mask of Cthulhu, Derleth, 60p; The Trail of Cthulhu, Derleth, 75p; Horror in the Museum, Lovecraft, 50p; Horror in the Burying Ground, Lovecraft, 60p; The Tomb & other Tales, Lovecraft, 40p; The Shuttered Room, Lovecraft, 40p; The Haunted of the Dark, Lovecraft, 35p; Lurker at the Threshold, Lovecraft & Derleth, 35p; The Dispossessed, Ursula LeGuin, 75p; The Left Hand of Darkness, LeGuin, 50p; The Mote in God's Eye, Larry Niven, 60p; Orbit Unlimited, Poul Anderson, 60p; Beyond This Horizon, Heinlein, 40p; Atlas Shrugged, Ayn Rand, £1.75; Pearls are a Nuisance, Chandler, 70p; Trouble is my Business, Chandler, 70p; Killer in the Rain, Chandler, 90p, etc. . .

CHILDREN'S BOOKS – As we mentioned in the last issue we want to expand our range of kid's books. Please let us know which ones you can recommend . . . Where the Wild Things Are, Sendak, 75p; The Oxford Children's Dictionary, £1.95; The Wind on the Moon, Linklater, 50p; The Weirdstone of Brisingham, Garner, 50p; The Moon of Gornath, Garner, 50p; Red Shift, Garner, 45p; When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit, Kerr, 30p; Baba & Mr. Big, Palmer, 45p; Family from One End Street, Garnett, 40p; Baby Animal ABC, Broomfield, 50p; The Man Whose Mother Was a Pirate, Mahy, 50p; Tombs of Atuan, LeGuin, 45p; Wizard of Earthsea, LeGuin, 50p; The Wind in the Willows, K. Graham, 45p; Asterix & the Roman Agent, Asterix the Gladiator, Asterix at the Olympic Games, Asterix in the Big Fight, Asterix in Switzerland, Asterix in Britain, Goscinny, 50p each; Peter in the Land of Musical Instruments, Robitsek, £1.00; Peter in the Land of Musical Theory, Robitsek, £1.00; Charlie & the Chocolate Factory, 40p, Charlie & the Great Glass Elevator, 40p, Jack & the Giant Peach, 60p, Fantastic Mr. Fox, 40p, Magic Finger, 30p, Roald Dahl; Beastly Boys and Ghastly Girls, Cole, 40p; Meg's Eggs, Nicoll, 50p; A Book of Milliganimals, Spike Milligan, 30p; Benjamin the True, Paley, £1.50; 12th Day of July, Lingard, 50p; The Robber Hotzenplotz, Preussler, 30p; The Further Adventures of the Robber Hotzenplotz, Preussler, 50p; The Final Adventures of the Robber Hotzenplotz, Preussler, 50p; Beyond the Burning Spirits, J. Christopher, £1.50, etc. . .

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